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AN EXAMINATION OF VISUAL SOCIOLOGY:  
EXPLORING THE POTENTIAL OF VISUAL DATA IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH  
USING A GROUNDED THEORY APPROACH.

by

Russell Peter Brohier

A Thesis  
submitted to the  
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research  
through the Department of  
Sociology and Anthropology in Partial Fulfillment  
of the requirements for the Degree  
of Masters of Arts at  
the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1988

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# ABSTRACT.

This study examines the application of still photography to the collection of data and the subsequent analysis of the photographs produced. Qualitative methods are utilized in **exploring** the potential use of visual data in sociological research. Furthermore, Glaser and Strauss' grounded theory approach is employed to focus on the emergent nature of the data collected. It has been determined that to fully explore the possibilities of still photography as a means of data collection, it must be applied to a subject of sociological inquiry. Hence, data was collected using still photography, to obtain information on the privatization of public spaces. Therefore, this presented study is conducted on two planes of inquiry: (1) methodologically based, and employing the use of still photography to collect data; and (2) aspects of public behaviour are examined in relation to the concept of privatizing a public space.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Mary Lou Dietz for her encouragement and guidance. Without such a mentor I would have not undertaken to continue with such an endeavour. I was first influenced by Mary Lou in my final year as an undergraduate, and I credit her with encouraging me to go on with my studies.

#### DEDICATION.

This thesis is dedicated to two individuals who have given me constant support throughout my life no matter what absurd direction it has taken. My parents, Marguerite and Geoffrey Brohier, have been patient and tolerant of my many pursuits. To them I owe much more than just a word of thanks. There are no words which could express my true sentiment.

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PART I1. INTRODUCTION.

Historically, sociology and photography are connected. In the twenties and thirties these ties between the two disciplines were the strongest and were even recognized by government departments in the United States when photographers such as Dorothea Lange, Walker Evans, Lewis Hine and Jacob Riis were employed to document the social fabric of the United States during the period of industrialization and the following depression. Photographs taken by these people are now major sources for the production of various images of life during these periods in history. Furthermore, photographers such as Margaret Bourke-White documented such events as the liberation of Nazi concentration camps in 1945 and various other social phenomena.

Documenting events has been recognized throughout history as a means by which important happenings are recorded for future generations. Art has been the traditional means by which this documentation has occurred; the contribution of the artist preceded that of the historian, and the visual images captured by artists preceded the written documentation of the historians. From cave drawings depicting the hunt, to the Pharaoh's tombs in Egypt showing scenes of court life, to the frescos and sculpture of ancient Greece, to the seventeenth century portraiture of artists like Vermeer, Rembrandt and VanDyke, to Adolph Menzel's

introduction.

(1815-1905) painting "The Steel Mill" or Frederick Varley's series of paintings on the First World War, art has recorded major events throughout the life of this civilization, and those past.

Photography, and such variation as film, has taken over this role of documentation thereby allowing visual artists to express their emotions by producing subjective works rather than a documentary of life. Thus, based on history, visual depiction of social events and everyday life provides a record, a document containing information. Hence, the visual images of social phenomena may provide the sociologist with an understanding of some aspects of behaviour.

Though it was not the intent of this study to examine only the content of photographs, paintings or drawings, it is worth noting the relevance of these media in depicting social events and the light they shed in explaining phenomena of the past. However, it is proposed here to formalize the medium of photography as a means of documentation within the discipline of sociology: that is, to examine and develop a technique of producing visual images photographically for the purpose of collecting data relevant to the study of various social happenings.

Three components are examined in this study; 1. the potential use of visual data and the means by which they are collected for sociological research; 2. the employment of a

grounded theory approach in accommodating this methodology; and,

3. non-verbal behaviour of individuals in a public place.

This study is an attempt to examine and apply a methodology using still photography as a tool for data collection. Therefore, the nature of this study is **exploratory**, focusing on the methodology rather than the subject of inquiry. Problems are considered which relate to defining and determining the boundaries of the use of visual techniques within sociological research. Hence, the purpose of this study was to:

- o Develop a methodology for the use of still photography in the examination and collection of data on social behaviour. [a method for visual sociology.]
- o Application of the developed visual methodology to a specified social setting. [A large urban shopping mall was chosen as the setting for reasons which will be elaborated on later].
- [application of methodology.]
- o Examination of the applied methodology and the results it yielded, with regard to the areas of its application and to suggest modifications for future application.
- [analysis of the method.]
- o Examination of the data on the behaviour of individuals in this public place and consequent theory.
- [analysis of data on public behaviour, the location and its various settings; of non-verbal interaction and its relationship to the privatization of public places.]

Though the setting chosen was a large urban shopping mall, the study did not concentrate on shopping behaviour, but on behaviour in this public location in general. Concern was directed to (i) behaviour of and between individuals which takes place on the pedestrian mall rather than that which occurs in the shops and (ii) behaviour which is viewed in terms of the concept of privatization of a public place.



This study was conducted to determine whether photographs used as data, and its implied methods, would enhance the collection, understanding and explanation of such data on behaviour in a public place. Secondly, it attempted to determine if the grounded theory approach is an appropriate means by which to employ photography. Finally, the study endeavoured to investigate the chosen location, its various settings, the non-verbal interaction which occurs and how these factors relate to the privatization of a public place.

Chapter Two has been divided into four sections. Each of the first three sections concentrates on an area of the literature which is pertinent to this study. Section one contains reviews of the literature on qualitative methods, examining the works of Glaser and Strauss (1967), Schatzman and Strauss (1973), Schwartz and Jacobs (1974), and Lofland and Lofland (1984) among others. Section two consists of a summary of theories of public behaviour, concentrating on the various works of Irving Goffman (1959, 1963, 1967, 1971, 1974, 1978), also including Edward Hall (1959, 1969), and Lyn Lofland (1973) among others. Section three is devoted to the literature on visual sociology. Here, authors such as Howard Becker (1974, 1981), Jon Collier (1979a, 1979b), Timothy Curry (1983, 1984) and Jon Wagner (1979) among others are examined. Finally, section four is a summary attempting to synthesize the three previous sections in relation to this study.

Chapter Three details the methodology used in this study, from the choosing of the location to the method used for the analysis of the data. This chapter is divided into two primary sections. Section one deals with the necessarily emergent nature of this study, while section two concentrates on such things as a description of the location, the equipment used, the means by which the number of sessions in the field was determined, the collection of the data, and how the data was organized and analyzed.

In Chapter Four, several remaining questions about the methodology are addressed. Question one examines the grounded theory approach and its application to this study. Question two further explores the notation and organization which this study employed. Questions three, four and five are related to photography as a method for sociological research concentrating on the meaning of a photograph, the validity of such a methodology, and the ethical implications of it.

Chapter Five then presents the major emergent concepts of the study prior to the attaching of existing theory to them. It is important to keep in mind while reading this section, that these concepts are more fully explained in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Six then presents the data: that is, the number of photographs collected at various stages of the study as well as a summary of the data collected. Each data collection session is presented in a separate section - with the exception of sessions

introduction.

one and two which comprise the pilot study - to preserve the process orientation of this study.

Chapter Seven, contains the analysis of the behavioural data. It is in this chapter where "key linkages" (Lofland, 1976) are drawn between observational notes, and between the methodological notes, and where theory is applied. Here behavioural and methodological aspects of the study are connected to theory, either existing or emergent. This chapter is divided into three sections. In section one schematic maps are used to draw linkages between data; in section two the application of a modification of John Lofland's (1976) analysis of social organizations is given; section three is then a summary of this chapter.

With the behavioural aspects of the study complete, the methodology is now examined. Chapter Eight presents what has been termed a methodological diary, which documents the researcher's actions in the field. This document and the methodological notes made with respect to the behavioural component are taken into consideration in the analysis of the method and the application of photography to the study of sociological issues.

Chapter Nine, though it could be considered an extension of the methodological diary presented in chapter eight, examines not only the researcher's actions in the field but also the process of analysis and the tools used. Here, methodological problems which the researcher encountered and the solutions to those

problems are presented.

Chapter Ten considers the theoretical aspects of this methodology and of visual sociology. It is here that existing studies in visual sociology are compared to the research conducted for this study and a summary of the methodological aspects of this study are also presented.

Finally, Chapter Eleven presents the conclusions and confessions of the researcher. Though the emphasis of this study has been on the method rather than the behavioural aspects examined, some conclusions as to the behaviour examined are made, especially in relation to the method used. Future considerations for the use of photography in the study of sociological issues are stated as well as the possible use of a visual sociology. Limitations and benefits of such a methodology are also explored.

Though using a grounded theory approach, the researcher does not use a theoretical perspective to shape the method of inquiry, he or she is expected to be able to apply relevant theory when appropriate during the analysis. Because of this, the following chapter examines some of the pertinent literature on the three areas of examination. Thus, readings in the areas of qualitative research, public behaviour and visual sociology are summarized in Chapter Two.

review of the literature.

## 2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.

### Introduction

A strong emphasis has been placed on the emergent nature of this study in accordance with the criteria of Glaser and Strauss' (1967) grounded theory approach in accommodating this characteristic. However if one is to use Glaser and Strauss' criteria in their strictest sense, a review of the pertinent literature is virtually unnecessary. Nevertheless, the grounded theory approach requires that theory should be ascribed to the data collected after the fact rather than conducting research with a particular theoretical perspective in mind. Of course, researchers must be aware of theory and how it is to be applied when they go about analyzing the data.

Methodology, as it is developed and applied in this study, is exploratory and emphasizes the emergent nature of the data. To attempt research without some form of theoretical base would be an exercise whereby the researcher would be acting without the aid of even a methodology. Hence, to approach the field in order to collect data, certain aspects of theory must be used to devise a methodology.

It is also very important to consider that this research is conducted on two different planes: first, research on public behaviour as a means to study a methodology, which is the second plane. Thus, data on the public behaviour may in fact be

review of the literature.  
collected in accordance with the grounded theory requirements, but applicable theories related to qualitative research and visual sociology are needed to construct a usable sociological method.

Hence, in this chapter there are three sections. First, literature on qualitative research is reviewed. A decision was made by this researcher that qualitative research may best reveal the uses of photography within sociology. As a result, it is the first to be reviewed since it is assumed to be the broadest of the three subject areas.

Secondly, literature on public behaviour was reviewed in anticipation of the nature of the data which was collected. That is, since research was conducted in a public place, without the constraints of a limited and specific population, but rather based on location then such literature would be pertinent. Notions from existing theory would be applied in the analysis rather than in the overt shaping of the methodology.

Thirdly, is a review of the literature on visual sociology. This subject area is considered to be specific and related to the tools used in the method of this study. To use a camera for research in sociology, one must realize its implications and consequences as well as its benefits and possible advantages. Also, one must have some knowledge as to how to analyze and read the photograph. This section attempts to reconcile the application of photography to sociology.

review of the literature.

Finally, the summary brings the above sections into the context of this research, narrowing down the focus of the research as well as the various tools which will be included in the development of the methodology and analysis.

## 2.1 Qualitative Methods.

Erving Goffman, in his 1976 study of the subordinate portrayal of women in American advertising, saw no need for quantitative measurement or statistical analysis. Instead, Goffman collected and examined several advertisement layouts and conducted a content analysis of them. He observed the position of the females to the males within the layout, the size of the respective figures, and the body positions as well as the roles of the male and female characters.

As Howard Schwartz and Jerry Jacobs point out: "The difference between qualitative and quantitative sociology can be stated quite simply in terms of the notation system used to describe the world" (1974:4). Researchers using a quantitative methodology assign numbers to the "qualitative observations" (Schwartz and Jacobs, 1974:4), and the data is produced by using a tool for such measurement. Researchers using a qualitative methodology seldom assign numbers to their observations. Rather, observations are reported in the "natural language at large" (Schwartz and Jacobs, 1974: 4).

Qualitative research, gives actual accounts of the phenomena and unlike quantitative research, abstractions are

review of the literature.  
minimized. "Being there, is a powerful technique for gaining insight into the nature of human affairs" (Babbie, 1979: 203).

Qualitative research, however, may not satisfy the test of reliability because of the variations in the characterization which each researcher determines. These differences in characterizations do not suggest that one researcher is more correct than another. Rather, there are two different systems of analysis and both contribute to the understanding of a particular behaviour (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 22). Observations and categories which the researcher constructs reflect the researcher's perspectives and biases. Hence; what may have been perceived as problematic should be potential for a deeper understanding. Replication is replaced by development of this understanding through the variations in perspectives each researcher brings to the situation. Subjectivity and bias may then lead to developments in understanding rather than being a detrimental aspect of the study. However, the researcher must explicate as fully as possible the process he/she followed in all aspects of the research.

A "grounded theory approach" is suggested by Glaser and Strauss, which they define as a "general method of comparative analysis" (1967:1). In using a grounded theory approach, one first conducts the investigation and then develops a theory based on the data collected and analyzed. Glaser and Strauss have taken the position that "...the adequacy of a theory for



review of the literature.

sociology today cannot be divorced from the process by which it is generated" (1967: 5). Their two fundamental concepts of "fit" and "work" are requirements of any theory which is generated by the data.

By "fit" we mean that the categories must be readily (not forcibly) applicable to and indicated by the data under study; by "work" we mean that they must be meaningfully relevant to and be able to explain the behaviour under study. (1967: 3)

Thus, theory must not only be generated by the data, but it must also be able to explain the behaviour it is reported to have investigated, and the concepts developed must be easily applied.

Leonard Schatzman and Anselm Strauss (1973) suggest a process of note taking which attempts to capitalize on the grounded theory approach. A system of "Observational", "Methodological" and "Theoretical" notes provide a process by which theory can be elicited from the data presented. Through this process, a discovery of "key linkages" between different observations is possible.

Observational notes are statements of occurrence, and contain as little interpretation as possible. An observational note "is the Who, What, When, Where and How of human activity. It tells who said or did what, under stated circumstances" (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973: 100).

Methodological notes are virtually a self-critique of the researcher's own activity in the field. This set of notes specifies the researcher's whereabouts in relation to the

review of the literature.

subject(s), time of day, contains indications of the method used, and instructions for future field observations.

Methodological notes may be thought of as observational notes on the researcher himself and upon the methodological process itself; as complete a chronicle as the researcher finds necessary (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973: 101).

Unlike the observational notes which concentrate on the behaviour being studied, methodological notes concentrate on how the observation was done and the method used to do it.

Theoretical notes attempt to attach meanings to what the researcher has recorded. Several observational notes can be tied together by a common element. At this level, interpretations, inferences, hypotheses and conjectures are made to make sense of the situation and behaviour based on the data provided. It is here the researcher "...develops new concepts, links those to older ones, or relates any observation to any other..." (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973: 101). Also at this stage, "key linkages" emerge, and these are defined to be:

...a metaphor, model, general scheme, overriding pattern, or "story line" - he can become increasingly selective of the classes he needs to deal with: classes to look for, to refine, or link up with other classes (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973: 111).

Key linkages which emerge can then lead to ascribing a meaning to the behaviour described in the observational notes and the development of a theory for the behaviour under study.

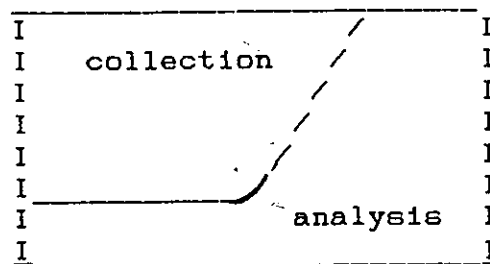
John Lofland (1976) and John and Lyn Lofland (1984) may aid researchers in developing grounded theory. In both of the above

review of the literature.

mentioned publications, there are descriptions of a method of analysis for social organizations and settings utilizing a "scale of social organization" (Lofland, 1976: 48; Lofland and Lofland, 1984: 71). Application of this model may aid the researcher using a qualitative methodology to make key linkages among various observational notes and to develop a theory grounded in data.

Lofland and Lofland's scale compartmentalizes "Units of social organization" (encounters, roles, groups, organizations, worlds, settlements and societies), and "Qualitative forms" (structure, process and strategies) in both a specific and generic analysis. Each of these twenty-one cells is divided into three sub-cells or categories (types, qualitative links - causes and consequences) (Lofland, 1976: 48; Lofland and Lofland, 1984: 71).

Figure 1: "Productive Temporal Relationship"



Finally, most researchers mentioned above tend to adopt a process of research which combines collection of data with analysis. A "Productive Temporal Relationship" (Lofland and Lofland, 1984: 132) is based on an increasing amount of time

review of the literature.  
being spent on analysis while time spent on data collection diminishes. Thus, constant analysis of the data already collected is needed. This process would enable a researcher to pursue areas of inquiry which emerge through the ongoing analysis of the observational notes.

Qualitative research does present a systematic means by which researchers can inquire into human behaviour. Valid results are obtained with great depth and richness achieved in the observations. From these observations, common elements of "key linkages" can tie one observation to others. These emerging patterns can then contribute to the development of grounded theory: That is, the theory is determined and/or developed from the data and the data is not forced to "fit", or to "work" for a prescribed or predetermined theory. This process should produce explanations of human behaviour in both specific and generic terms. Finally, this process may also be adaptable to photography as a means of data collection, because of the exploratory nature of such a technique within sociology. Since there is no such theory in existence on the use of photography in sociology, one may be generated out of the data collected using a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) in combination with Shatzman and Strauss' notation model (1973) and the "Productive Temporal Relationship" as described by Lofland and Lofland (1984).

## 2.2 Public Behaviour.

In this review of the literature, works which incorporate a conceptual framework relating to public behaviour shall be looked at. This area of theory has a bearing on the study because of the public character of the location chosen. Thus behaviour in this location is public by virtue of the individuals being in a public setting. Authors such as Goffman, Hall, and Lofland are cited. Several of Erving Goffman's works deal directly with public behaviour. Presentations of Self in Everyday Life (1959) furnish principal concepts of the dramaturgical approach. (Though a dramaturgical approach is not directly adopted, some concepts of Goffman's are applicable to this study). These concepts hinge on how an individual expresses him- or herself and the impressions he/she gives and gives off:

The expressiveness of the individual (and therefore his capacity to give impressions) appears to involve two radically different kinds of sign activity: the expressions that he GIVES and the expressions that he GIVES OFF. The first involves verbal symbols or their substitutes which he uses admittedly and solely to convey information that he and others are known to attach to these symbols... The second involves a wide range of action that others can treat as symptomatic of the actor, the expectation being that the action was performed for reasons other than the information conveyed in this way. (Goffman. 1978:172)

Thus, an individual is capable of contributing to an impression he/she wishes to make by employing the appropriate symbols. Action is "staged" and the related terminology reflects this influence.

These two primary concepts apply to the location being

review of the literature.

studied. Though the verbal component will not be a factor because of the limitations of the method chosen for the collection of data (still photography), impressions one gives may still be incorporated in the noting of verbal substitutes, such as various salutations.

Goffman speaks of a "performance", a "part", a "routine", and "front-stage" and "back-stage" regions. This reliance on theatrical terms suggests an affected behaviour which is manipulated and staged. This may be the case for some forms of behaviour, such as a bank teller whose job it is to play a part, follow a routine, and give a pleasant performance to the customers while on stage. Back-stage, however, the same teller may speak derogatively to another employee, about a customer to whom he/she presented a kind and smiling face just seconds earlier.

However, not all behaviour is as contrived as that of the teller. Can there then be actions which are not as insincere, such as the intimate interactions between close friends, which are also capable of being dramaturgically analyzed? "Degree", is an appropriate word to describe the staging of appearances within dramaturgical analysis. Actions performed while in the presence of friends are seemingly less staged. In such situations one is more readily able to follow the dictum: "be yourself". Actions performed in a situation, such as that of customer service jobs or even a job interview, are more readily associated with

review of the literature.  
"giving" and "giving off" the right impression. It is then the case that staging can be on the unconscious level, as in the former, or on the conscious level, as in the latter. It is even suggested that if a part is played again and again it becomes routine and embedded in that actors everyday and spontaneous actions, and becomes part of that individual's natural repertoire of actions.

In 1963, Goffman published Behaviour in Public Places. In this work, the actual furthering of a theory of dramaturgical analysis was subordinated to the attention paid strictly to concepts of "social order".

Briefly, a social order may be defined as the consequence of any set of moral norms that regulates the way in which persons pursue objectives. The set of norms does not specify the objectives the participants are to seek, nor the pattern formed by and through the coordination or integration of these ends, but merely the modes of seeking them. Traffic rules and the consequent traffic order provide an obvious example. Any social system or any game may be viewed quite properly as an instance of social order, although the perspective of social order does not allow us to get at what is characteristically systematic about systems or what is gamelike about games.... Within each such order, [what one may call sub-orders in the broader social order, i.e. legal, economic, etc.] mere behaviour is transformed into a corresponding type of conduct. Particular concrete acts, of course, are likely to be performed in accordance with the regulations of more than one of these orders. (1963:8)

Individuals, according to Goffman, behave in accordance with the social setting in which they are placed and this setting may be comprised of several types of social orders. In other words, the situation determines the behaviour. Concepts such as "public

w

review of the literature.  
order", "fitting in", "linguistic" and "expressive messages",  
"focused" and "unfocused interaction", and "involvement" are but  
a few which incorporate and incarnate this definition of "social  
order" (Goffman: 1963). Dramaturgy then became part of the means  
to explain social order.

Though many of Goffman's concepts can be applied to this  
study, "public order", "unfocused interaction" and "body idiom"  
are examined here. This selection of terms is representative of  
interaction which may occur in the chosen situation: the public  
place, the interaction between individuals, and the observable  
behaviour of individuals.

Goffman defines "public order" as, traditionally referring  
more to:

...the regulations of face-to-face interaction among  
those members of a community who are not well  
acquainted than it does to interaction occurring in  
private walled-in places where familiars meet.  
Traditionally, "public places" refer to any regions in  
a community freely accessible to members of that  
community; "private places" refer to soundproof regions  
where only members or invitees gather - the traditional  
concern for public order beginning only at the point  
where a private gathering begins to obtrude upon the  
neighbors. (1963:9)

Encompassed in this definition is the concept of "fitting in".  
This concept dictates that the individual's sentiment defers to  
that of the collective or public sentiment depending on the  
"requirements of the situation" (Goffman. 1963:12). Thus, "public  
order" has three criteria:[1] face-to-face interaction among  
acquaintances or strangers;[2] an area of free access; and [3]



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the overriding of the individual's sentiment.

Though the concept of "public order" allows for both "focused" and "unfocused" interaction, the latter is of more concern here. Unfocused interaction is that action which is not necessarily purposeful;

that is, the kind of communication that occurs when one gleans information about another person present by glancing at him, if only momentarily, as he passes into and out of one's view. UNFOCUSED INTERACTION HAS TO DO LARGELY WITH THE MANAGEMENT OF SHEER AND MERE CO-PRESENCE. (Goffman. 1963:24) [emphasis added]

Though gesture is primarily associated with unfocused interaction, it can also be seen in focused interaction. However, unfocused interaction is that action which provides information and contributes to the forming of impression about others. There is no focus of attention or "official centre of attention" (Goffman. 1963:34).

Gestures are often made in connection with some verbal communications, such as the wave of a hand when one says "good bye". However, this is not always the case. "Body idiom" is a term which refers to gestures as a means of communication which may or may not be linked to verbal communications. Thus body idiom consists of:

... bodily appearance and personal acts as; dress, bearing, movement and position, sound level, physical gestures such as hand waving or saluting, facial decoration, and broad emotional expression.... These signs, then, form the basis of unfocused interaction... In every society these communication possibilities are institutionalized. While many such usable events may be neglected, at least some are likely to be regularized and accorded a common meaning.

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Half-aware that a certain aspect of his activity is available for all present to perceive, the individual tends to modify his activity, employing it with its public character in mind....There is then a body of symbolism, an idiom of individual appearances and gestures that tends to call forth in the actor what it calls forth in the others, the others drawn from those, and only those, who are immediately present. (Goffman, 1963:33-35).

These acts are institutionalized to provide a shared, but not necessarily a conscious understanding as to their meaning. However, says Goffman, an individual tends to modify these acts when he/she is aware that they are perceived by other. These modifications suggest that there is "a body of symbolism, an idiom of individual appearances and gestures that tend to call forth in the actor what it calls forth in the other,..." (Goffman, 1963:35). Thus, these acts contain a personal expression while retaining a public character of common meaning.

Many of Goffman's later works, Interaction Ritual (1967), Relations In Public (1971) and Frame Analysis (1974), expand on the concepts mentioned above. Concepts related to public behaviour are of primary concern in the first two publications mentioned whereas the emphasis of the third is on the contextual framework of the situation.

Edward Hall coined the term "proxemics" to denote the levels of information and their relationship to distance:

Proxemics is the term I have coined for the interrelated observations and theories of man's use of space as a specialized elaboration of culture. (Hall, 1969:1).

Hall developed four categories of space which depended on a) the distance between one individual and another individual, or

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object, and b) any number of the senses (sight, sound, smell, touch and taste) which would contribute to the acquisition of information about the situation. These categories are Intimate, Personal, Social-Consultive, and Public (Hall, 1969:126). behaviour which may be classified in any of these categories can be, and is, found in a public situation such as the complex chosen for this study. These distances are, as Hall claims, culturally determined, and are considered social norms necessary to maintain the social order governing interaction.

Hall contends that all five senses are able to partake in the acquisition of information. He further divides the senses into two categories:

1. The distance receptors - those concerned with examination of distant objects - the eyes, the ears, and the nose.
2. The immediate receptors - those used to examine the world close up - the world of touch, the sensations we receive from the skin, membranes, and muscles. (Hall, 1966:41).

Though Goffman does not rule out touch, smell, and taste, as a means of gaining information, he also does not include them by the language he uses. Hall, allows for all the senses to be used.

Lyn Lofland in her publication A World of Strangers (1973), considers the actions of individuals in the city and how these individuals "come to acquire urban learning" (119). Her concept of the privatization of public spaces incorporates three categories of how individuals know a situation or location. Attention must be paid to (a) the physical features and (b) the interaction of

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others in the setting, in addition to (c) that of time. If attention is not paid to the setting, then all one can possess is a "casual knowledge". If attention is paid to the setting, then there is the greater likelihood of progressing from "familiar knowledge" to "intimate knowledge". This progression, Lofland claims, is one where an individual becomes a "resident" of that setting.

All residents...tend to exhibit, to a greater or lesser degree, three characteristics. First, as already noted, they tend to use the locale for their own private purposes. Second, they tend to indulge in what Erving Goffman has called, "the backstage language of behaviour"[see Goffman, 1959:128]...And third, they tend to hold an attitude of proprietary rights toward the setting, similar to that which an individual might have toward his own home. (1973:124).

Privatization of a public place then involves one being familiar with, and "fitting in" (Goffman, 1959:12) to the situation.

Two points must be kept in mind: (1) this study is primarily methodologically focused and the examination of behaviour in the chosen setting is being used as a vehicle for the study of this methodology; and (2) a grounded theory approach is to be used in conducting this study. Thus, the behavioural component is secondary. However, behavioural concepts used for the study need to be elucidated. Lofland applied the concept of the privatization of a public place to smaller locations, such as a corner bar. To apply this concept to the large setting used in this study, there must be some modification of the definition of this concept.

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For the purposes of this study, privatization shall not be defined in Lofland's terms of "casual", "familiar" or "intimate" knowledge but rather by nonverbal behaviour which insulates individuals from the environment surrounding them. Privatization of a public place shall be considered to be nonverbal behaviour which an individual gives or gives off through his/her body idiom (Goffman, 1978) to support his/her intimate or personal space (Hall, 1969) in this public place. In supporting his/her personal space an individual may use such a space for his/her own private purpose and may exhibit an attitude of proprietary rights over that space (Lofland, 1973). A collective of individuals may interact within other member's personal space to form a group personal space. This is often seen in the interaction of family members. As Desmond Morris points out, a family may take with them to a public place, a sense of territory which is associated with the residence (1977: 198). However, though individuals and groups of individuals may employ various nonverbal actions to support their personal space in a public place, the social order (Goffman, 1978) is maintained.

It is anticipated that the location chosen will provide many instances where the above mentioned concepts shall be manifested through the behaviour of the individuals in this public arena. Only a few concepts have been examined here but these are felt to include and/or are associated with other concepts which may become apparent during the analysis of the data.

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### 2.3 Visual Sociology.

Visual sociology has yet to be defined, its boundaries are unclear and its role in sociological research remains unknown. Visual sociology may be used to examine the effects of visual media (television, movies, videos etc.) on the consumer, it may be used to present the results of a sociological inquiry, or it may be used to examine social phenomena using visual techniques. These broad areas encompass a variety of uses. However, it is the last area which is of concern here. Other than these three broadly defined categories, visual sociology lacks detailed definition and certainly lacks methodological rules for the study of social phenomena.

However, it is clear that visual sociology differs from visual techniques. That is, visual sociology is one which covers the range of inquiries involving visual techniques. Visual techniques can be used as a form of inquiry or a form of presentation. If one is inquiring about some aspect of social life, then visual techniques may be employed in a similar manner as fieldnotes. If one is using visual techniques for presentation, then illustration and demonstration are one's primary purposes. In between these two lies the area of a visual medium and its effects on the viewer and of the study of the content of such a medium: the impact of violence, depicted in a television show, on the population at large; or Goffman's inquiry of male and female roles as depicted in advertisements (Goffman,

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1976).

All of these are within the realm of visual sociology but each use visuals in a specialized manner and from a specific orientation. Beyond this initial definition, there are few, if any, guidelines for the use of visual techniques in sociological research.

Though there are historical links between the development of photography and sociology, and though, during the latter part of the last century and until the thirties of this century, there have been several photographic inquiries into sociological concerns, the actual development of photography as a viable means of exploring sociological questions was not formally considered until the early nineteen seventies (Becker, 1974; Curry, 1983). It was only in 1983 that the First International Conference of Visual Sociology was inaugurated in Windsor, Ontario. However, though various sociologists, such as Vito Signorile (1984) and Timothy Curry (1983, 1984) have attempted to develop a theory of visual sociology, none has yet been formed and visual sociology remains only loosely defined within the discipline. Deborah Barndt has attributed this lack of interest in photography by sociologists to the ignorance of the capabilities and importance of this visual medium to this discipline by those of us who study social phenomena (1974: 5).

Barndt (1974: 7) asked: "what do pictures do well? what are their special qualities? and how do we use them?". These are

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questions which initiate the definition of visual sociology and the role that visuals may play in this discipline. Visuals (still photography, television, video, film, etc.) may be used as a form of presentation for sociologists; they may be used as a subject of inquiry, to determine their effects on the viewer; or they may be used as raw data for social research (Bertioa, 1985; Zube, 1979).

There are four identifiable forms for the use of visuals: 1] as data; 2] as illustration; 3] as narration; and 4] as documentation (Bertioa, 1985:26). Film used for the purposes of collecting data is utilized much like a questionnaire. Recording an event generates data, just as questions are designed to elicit data. Albert Scheffler (1979) and Ervin Zube (1979) use photographs as data in their respective studies.

Illustration functions as a method of enhancement for the text. However, photographs used for the purposes of illustration may attempt to convey ideas which are not easily communicated by words. This tactic may serve the function of showing the viewer the social aspect of what is being studied. For example, Doug Harper (1982) presented various photographs of railroad tramps to illustrate the way they live. Photographs were used by Harper to give the reader a view of an aspect of life which they may never see.

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<sup>1</sup> Harper noted that he did have to put his camera away because it was affecting his relationship with his subjects. As a result he changed the methodological orientation of his study



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Narration as applied to photography is used to convey sociological ideas. Bill Aron (1981) constructed a profile of two populations of a community using only photographs. This technique resulted in the photographic comparison of these two populations and drew out of these photographs similarities and differences between these two groups.

Finally, photographs used as documentation do not necessarily have a sociological theory or explanation accompanying them. Though these photographs do contain statements of sociological interest, they are not linked to theory nor do they give an explanation of the events.

Though photographs can be used to combine any of the above four categories, the researcher must decide if this is indeed the medium through which he/she can examine his/her research question. Photography is not applicable to all sociological questions. For example, how does one examine an attitude. Attitudes are not readily visible and would be better investigated by using a questionnaire or an interview schedule. However, if visuals are able to better record an event than are observational notes, then it is beneficial for the researcher to use such techniques and technologies. Only by using visuals can

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to one of field notation. (1982:147) Byers would suggest that the problem that Harper faced was not one of the camera, but of this researcher himself (Byers.1964:83). In other words, the researcher's discomfort with the method in this situation is the problem and not the method itself.

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we determine their role in the discipline and develop corresponding theories.

Vito Signorile (1984) examined the theoretical meaning of what he termed a "symbolic transformation" and its relationship to the visual. There is no attempt in this study to examine this concept of verbal transformation, or even to address theoretical questions as to how individuals see, and the relationship to cognition and language. It is here acknowledged that such inquiry contributes to the theory of a visual sociology, and this study examines the use of visuals - photography specifically - as a tool for the collection of data. In investigating photography as a methodological tool, it can be used within a variety of established sociological theories. Thus, the question is: Can photography be used as a viable means of exploring behaviour in public places, sociologically?

This question may be answered in part by reviewing how some sociologists regard the application of photography in sociology. Though some, who have already been mentioned, such as Aron, Bertola and Zube have used photography in examining social phenomena, others like Goffman (1976) have analyzed visual material in order to examine various issues. Goffman's examination looked at the perception of gender roles and used visual material which was not produced as data. However, one must still ask what qualities should a photograph possess so that it could constitute a form of data when it is taken for the purposes

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of social inquiry?

Anthropology has used photography in its investigation of other cultures; and John Collier has been able to identify what information is contained within a photograph.

Photographic details of its inhabitants would yield information about age and passage of life, as seen in faces, hands, and posture. A study of clothing might reveal profession, taste, and economic well-being. The manner in which the clothing was worn might, along with posture, reveal psychological states and emotional welfare. These are all elements which can be responsibly identified through the analysis of kinesics (body language), proxemics (significance of space), and the cultural symbolism of artifacts (1979b:273).

Thus, non-verbal information, can be recorded and made evident by photography. Collier has only identified what the content of the photograph is, and its itemized components. However, there are other qualities which are not made readily evident by the itemization of the photograph's content.

Though the content of the photograph is an important element in the total information it gives, the photograph, as a medium, communicates with the viewer so as to evoke some aspect of emotion. A photograph may record detail, as described by Collier above, but there is an additional element as to the quality of this description as opposed to fieldnotes. Bill Aron considers this additional element as a relationship between the viewer and the photograph: One may say that the viewer enters into a vicarious relationship with the subjects in the photograph.

It is in relation to these matters of feeling that we find the principle strength of photography as a sociological method, for the photograph can give the viewer an emotional

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connection with - as well as an intellectual understanding of - the scene depicted. Photographs at their best do not simply make assertions; rather the viewer interacts with them in order to arrive at conclusions, an observation made by Dewey about art in general (1957) and discussed in relation to photography by Becker (1978). In our interacting sensitivity to their detail and meaning, photographs can help us to see, feel, and understand in ways that words alone cannot (Aron, 1979:67).

There is then, a qualitative difference between collecting data through the use of words and that of the photograph. This difference is one where "words are symbols that refer to something else besides themselves", while "photographs contain within them their own referents" (Curry, 1984: 13). This distinction may facilitate a greater identification and understanding of the viewer with the photograph, than the reader may enjoy through the symbolic representation of words. Therefore, referents within the photograph must be identified in order to elucidate the meaning.

John Collier proposes that inventories of what each photograph contains be made. This inventory is conducted in three parts:

...an item listing, an enumeration, for example, of all the possessions of a home, or every image, human or technological, seen in photographs of a street; a categorical listing, such as that of all kinds of a dwellings possessions; and finally, an inventory of cultural significance. (Collier, 1979a: 165).

Collier relies on compiling a list of objects and types of things, and the number of times they are present in the photographs. His rationale for this is one which would allow the researcher to better detect patterns. In his final section of an

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inventory of cultural significance, Collier's aim is to make "reference to both cultural structure and process, and not just an index of visible content" (1979: 166). These inventories would be useful in detecting patterns of behaviour in the location. Furthermore, to realize the referents contained within the photograph could lead to a better understanding of not only what the content of the photograph means, but also of how the photograph works in a sociological context.

#### 2.4 Summary.

A grounded theory approach provides a framework for the study. Explanations or theories of behaviour are developed by comparing the data and connecting one photograph to another in an effort to identify emerging patterns. Schatzman and Strauss' (1973) notation model is one which enables the researcher to organize the data so that these key linkages can be drawn and so that theory may be generated. This organization, assists in the continuous analysis of the data in a manner which Lofland called a "Productive Temporal Relationship" (1984). This process would allow the researcher to concentrate on specific areas or modify the methodology to correct inadequacies. Photographs can then be organized and analyzed after each session, and also allow their technical aspects to be corrected. For example, in some preliminary sessions, black and white film was used in addition to colour. In reviewing the methodological notes, it was found that at this location, colour film better represented the

review of the literature, behaviour and gave more detail, and the methodology was altered accordingly.

At the point when the data collection is completed, Schatzman and Strauss' model of notation allows the researcher to compare not only the behavioral data in the observational notes, but also the data on the method which constitutes the methodological notes. This type of organization is suited for the dual nature of the analysis along behavioural and methodological lines.

Within the theoretical notes, Lofland's "scale of social organization" (1976:48) is used to compare the behavioural data. Behavioural data is collected on various aspects of public behaviour. Primarily, the notion of privatization of a public space is examined. Privatization in this study is defined as being the process of using non-verbal behaviour by individuals to insulate them from the surrounding environment. Goffman's concepts, such as, that of "gives" and "gives off"<sup>2</sup>, of "body

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<sup>2</sup> Primarily, the distinction between that of gives and gives off is one of intent. This distinction, as valid as it is, is not being made for this study. Both these concepts have verbal and non-verbal components. Of interest in this study is that of the non-verbal behaviour and the intent of the actor will not be considered. Can a researcher, or for that matter the subject himself, distinguish if an action which has occurred was intentional or not? For example, if a group of individuals have gathered and are facing each other, forming a circle with their backs creating a wall to the public, has this been done with some awareness as to the intent of this action? Or can this formation be considered one that is natural for groups collecting in a public place? It is suspected that the latter is a more correct interpretation. In any event, the matter under investigation is that of non-verbal behaviour which is manifested visually and can

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"idiom" and others associated with these notions (1963), as well as, the category system of distances which Hall defines (1969), are indicators of privatization of a public space.

Therefore, photography is being used in this study to collect data on public behaviour, in much the same way as Albert Schefflen (1979) and Ervin Zube (1979) use photography in their respective studies. If photography is able to record the manifestation of non-verbal behaviour in such a way as to make it visually apparent, then is it not to the researcher's benefit to use such methods for his/her investigation into such matters?

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be recorded by still photography. In situations, such as the group described above, their non-verbal behaviour can be recorded by the camera and it can be seen that their formation creates for them, a privatized space, guarded from intruders.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

In the development of the method used in this research, there is an emphasis on the emergent nature of this study. Section one describes and elaborates on this emergence of method. Section two concentrates on the specific aspects of the research conducted.

In this way the development of the resultant and implemented method is described.

#### 3.1: EMERGENT NATURE OF RESEARCH.

Initially, the intent of this study was to explore the use of visual data in a public place. Photography as a means of data collection has always been the focus. How this was going to be done was a process which emerged out of decisions made at the onset. Questions relating to the implementation of photography in a social research context were asked. These questions concentrated on the nature of the type of data which would be collected. For instance: Would photographs contain information which would aid in the development of sociological theory? Can the camera be a data collection tool within a sociological methodology? How does a researcher approach the field using a camera? What adaptations must be made to accommodate the use of a camera in gaining sociological data? These are but a few of the questions asked. Most of these questions were only partially answered prior to the collection process. Instead, only tentative answers can be put forth, and these shaped the resultant



methodology.

A public location was decided upon for the reasons given in the following section. This large urban shopping complex appeared rich with data for a sociological study. Thus, three elements were decided upon: Photography as the means of data collection; a subject, broadly defined as behaviour in a public place; and a location, which is very public and is a large urban shopping complex.

These three elements would then have to be considered in any methodology developed. Readings in qualitative research and visual sociology shaped the methodology as far as the use of photography was concerned. Readings in public behaviour acted as a check to determine if the tool would be applicable to the location and type of behaviour decided upon. Drawing upon several author's, their models for research and analysis a method which was considered to be plausible was developed. This method is presented in section 3.2. Application of the method was then undertaken.

From this point, the researcher proceeded to go into the field and photograph behaviour in this public location. These initial sessions surveyed the location and amount to what may be considered a pilot study. Photographs were taken of varying activities and using two different methods. First, the researcher photographed a sample of the behaviours observed. Second the researcher photographed specific behaviour which caught his

interest, such as group formation. These two processes produced photographs with a variety of behaviour made manifest. These photographs were then analyzed according to the model determined by Schatzman and Strauss (1973) after each session in the field and prior to further observations being made. This enabled the researcher to narrow down the focus of the study regarding the behaviour investigated as stipulated by Glazer and Strauss' (1967) grounded theory approach.

Several categories were determined and each photograph was placed in one of these categories, or a new one was developed to accommodate it. Schatzman and Strauss' notation model was followed to completion. From here, some categories were eliminated and other retained. Criteria were based on the technical quality of the photographs, number of photographs and content. Assumed here was that the photographs taken were indeed a representative sample of the behaviour which occurs at this location.

Once some of the categories were discarded, the researcher concentrated on the remaining categories. Additional sessions in the field were productive in that the data collected contributed to the further analysis of the behaviour being focused on. Analysis of the data also determined that there were many photographs in all categories which represented a form of behaviour which insulates the subject from the environment around them. This behaviour was conceptualized by the term "the

privatization of a public space". Hence, the behaviour investigated was narrowed down to that activity which insulates an individual or a group of individuals from the activity and environment surrounding them. This definition, emerged out of the data collected in the sessions up to and including this point.

A similar process for the methodology was used. Data determined some of the methodological aspects of this study, for instance the decision to use colour film exclusively rather than black and white. Through the pilot study, it has been found that colour film, preferably 400 or 1000 ASA, yields better results in this setting than does black and white. Photographs taken with black and white film often did not have a desirable degree of contrast and the lighting in the setting produced washed out images. - It is more desirable to have a colour film which does not require as much attention to aperture and shutter speed settings than the black and white film. Since photographs may be taken rapidly and hurriedly, so to capture the action of the subjects, time to set the camera is limited. Thus, attention must be paid to the notation of the action rather than the technical aspects of camera settings, and colour film allows this more than does black and white. This also emphasizes the "process orientation" of this study, the purpose is not so much to take a good photograph technically, but to take a good photograph sociologically.

Also, the concentration on various settings in the location

which was determined by the analysis of the data. It was found that the behaviour decided upon took place in specific settings more frequently than in other settings. Though the whole complex is used, some areas are photographed more often than others because of the activity which occurred in them. For example, the central court is photographed more than are the arteries where pedestrian traffic is high. In the central court, the structure or design is more conducive for behaviour which is stationary and thus enables the privatization of a public space. Passages are more for transitory behaviour and thus does not readily facilitate the privatization of space. These notions on the architectural design and the role it plays in determining behaviour shall be discussed in more detail later.

Hence, some technical aspects relating to the use of photography, the conceptualization of behaviour, and specific settings within this location emerged from the data collected in the initial sessions in the field. These aspects of this study then, have aided in the development of the following methodology.

### 3.2: METHOD.

In this section specific aspects of how this research was done have been identified. Camera in hand, the researcher becomes a part of the location and its various settings by walking through the doors of the location described below. Though the equipment used is not conventionally associated with social research, the intent was to record as accurately as possible a

sample of the various social happenings which occur in this location and as the study progressed, was to focus on the "privatization of public spaces".

No attempt is being made to measure or count, or produce any statistical data, but rather to describe what occurred. These descriptions, and the subsequent analysis, is organized utilizing Schatzman and Strauss' model for the development of field notes (1973) as outlined below. In using this model, it was intended that analysis of the data as it relates to the theory on public behaviour, and the analysis of the method (the use of still photography) is conducted in such a way that the former has contributed to that of the latter.

3.2.1) Location: A large urban shopping complex has been chosen as the setting for this study. This mall is situated parallel to the main street of the city and goes the length of two large city blocks. Furthermore, there are four levels of shops and restaurants, and large national department stores are located at the north and south ends of the complex. This entire complex is covered by a glass ceiling.

It has been observed that this mall is in effect an extension of the main street which runs next to it. Pedestrian traffic tends to be diverted into the mall at its north and south ends and pedestrian traffic along the main street is lighter through these blocks than along the rest of the main street. As such, in the area in which it runs, the mall has in effect become

the main street for pedestrians.

This site was chosen for several reasons: [a]. There seems to be an attraction to this location by residents of and tourists to the city. This would result in a varied and rich source of data concerning public behaviour. [b]. There are distinct boundaries to this location by virtue of it being one building. If a street location was chosen boundaries would be set arbitrarily by the researcher and not by the location it self.. [c]. Architectural elements, such as balconies, would aid the researcher in being able to take photographs of subjects without influencing their behaviour. If a street location was chosen, various inhibiting factors would hinder the taking of photographs (such as passing cars or trucks) and it would be necessary for the photographer to be much closer to the subjects and thereby possibly influence their behaviour. Also drastic variations of light could be expected in an outdoor location. Through pilot studies, specific settings within the location had been noted as had the aperture and shutter speeds under the relatively constant artificial lighting. Because the ceiling of this building is glass, variations in light still occurred.

3.2.2] Equipment: Two methods of data collection were employed: A single lens reflex thirty-five millimetre camera was used for data collection. Two interchangeable lenses were used: [1]. a 70 to 300 mm zoom lens shall be used for most of the shots; [2]. a 28 to 80 mm wide angle lens shall be for shots of general areas,

not specific scenarios of interaction.

Through prior experimentation, 400 ASA colour film has been chosen. This film would accommodate lower lighting conditions since it is a relatively fast film. Black and white shots, taken with 100 ASA did not produce photographs with enough contrast and detail because of low lighting conditions in some areas of the mall. Also colour allows for details to be picked-up whereas black and white may not. For instance, security guards may not be easily identified and appear to be wearing a suit rather than a uniform.

In sessions four, 1000 ASA film was used with no significant differences resulting between it and the 400 ASA film previously used.

3.2.31 Sessions: No set number of sessions in the field were determined. Since data and analysis was done in accordance with Lofland and Lofland's "Productive Temporal Relationship" (1984:132), the termination of data collection was suggested by the ongoing analysis of the data. Termination of data gathering was decided upon after the sixth session in the field and its subsequent analysis.

3.2.4] Collection <sup>3</sup>: Selectivity, and how a researcher deems what is important to his/her research is a factor. Because of the size of the complex, no set shooting script was designed. However, certain locations were chosen as areas of interest:

A] Central fountain and court. This area exposes all levels of the complex. A large fountain acts as an attraction for passersby and as a meeting place. A built-in bench encircles the fountain and serves as a resting place. Railings and balconies on upper floors, which overlook the fountain area, serve as observation posts. All these settings, as it has been observed, contain various types of social and public behaviour. [photograph 2]

B] South Court. In this area, circular benches are dominant and seem ill suited to interaction. Behaviour of persons who use these benches individually or in groups is of interest. Railings on the upper floors again serve as a target of interest because of the interaction which can be associated with them. [photograph 3]

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<sup>3</sup> No shooting script is used in the strictest sense of the phrase. In this study a shooting script is emergent and cannot be developed prior to the fieldwork because of the grounded theory approach applied. From prior observations, the researcher has found some settings within this location are photographed more frequently than are others. This emphasis on location is more applicable to this proposed study than is the scripting of times, number of photographs, and other factors associated with shooting scripts. Thus, specific settings shall be considered to constitute the script for this proposed study and the method used.



C1 North Court. There are two levels to this court, separated by another floor. On the lowest level there is a continuous bench which encases a garden and fountain. This area does not have the density of population as does the rest of the complex. It is also sheltered from the natural light by the upper court and is thus darker. Both these structural factors contribute to the isolation of individuals within this area. [photograph ]

Structurally opposite to the court described above is the upper level court. This area acts as the main foyer for the building and is highly utilized. Benches are placed in a rigid row formation and are exposed to the natural light coming through the ceiling. Various balcony like structures overlook both upper and lower courts.

D1 Railings. Throughout the complex there are several balcony or balcony-like areas on the upper floors. These settings seem to attract either individuals or gatherings of two or three people. A personal area is created, like a private box at the theatre. [photograph 4].

E1 Benches. Throughout the complex there are several types of benches arranged in various patterns. These serve as resting areas as well as observation areas. People use these benches to accommodate their own needs in a variety of ways. [photograph 5 and 6]

F1 In Transit. This term is made in reference to that

behaviour which is not necessarily supported by one location or any specific structural prop. This behaviour transcends location or setting: it is a group of people talking, it is a mother looking after her children, it is a school teacher gathering her pupils, and it is also a venue for the mere act of walking. [photograph 7]

Sections A1, B1 and C1 are locations which contain many settings. Specific settings have also be photographed within these locations. Sections D1 to F1 are setting specific, and as such were only photographed depending on the behaviour observed. All these settings relate to the previously defined notion of the privatization of a public place as influenced by Lyn Lofland (1973).

3.2.51 Analysis: The primary purpose of this study was to determine if photography can be used in sociological research and if the information recorded in this manner would enhance theory development. Then, analysis must be undertaken on two different planes. First, behavioural aspects are looked at and analyzed. This process then contributes to the analysis of the methodology. However, other tools must also be used to observe the implementation of the method. Thus, a methodological diary was kept. These tools, along with the study of public behaviour were implemented so to see if the method used, and more specifically the use of photography, is applicable to sociological research.

In analyzing the public behaviour component of this study

several stages made up this process. These stages relate to Schatzman and Strauss' model of notation (1973). First, the photographs were analyzed by reading them and giving a written description of their contents and the behaviour of individuals shown. Also included here was Collier's inventory (1979:165).

This part of the analysis is considered to be what Schatzman and Strauss call "Observational Notes".

Secondly, Schatzman and Strauss' "Methodological Notes" consisted of a specific considerations related to one photograph or general considerations related to the session. Methodological notes not only comment on the researcher's actions in the field but also on the technical aspects of this inquiry: aperture settings, shutter speeds, lenses, angle, and various other considerations related to photography shall be included here. Under examination here, is the relationship of the researcher to the camera and to the field. Methodological notes related to the behavioural aspects of this study were the prime focus in this stage of the analysis. However, the technical considerations were also noted so to improve the results in the field for the next session. Though a methodological diary was kept, it is considered to be related primarily to the analysis of the method which shall be dealt with later in this section.

"Theoretical Notes", according to Schatzman and Strauss' model (1973), are for the purpose of drawing "key linkages" (Schatzman and Strauss. 1973:101) between various observational

notes. It is at this point where existing theories are brought into the analysis, where concepts emerge and are defined, and where a generic theory might emerge. To aid this process schematic maps, and John Lofland's analysis of social organizations (1976) were used. Also, Edward Hall's (1969) scale of proxemics was implemented.

Figure 3.2.1:

- [1] Observational Notes:
  - A) The photograph.
  - B) A written **description** of what the photograph contains.
  - C) Collier's Inventory.
- [2] Methodological Note:
  - A) Notes made on the method which may have sociological bearing. Instruction for future sessions in the field.
  - B) Notes made concerning the technical aspects of data collection (photography); i.e. aperture, lighting, etc.. Instructions for future sessions in the field.
- [3] Theoretical Notes:
  - A) Schematic Maps.
  - B) Lofland's Analysis of Social Organizations.
  - C) Hall's Scale of Proxemics.
  - D) Inclusion of existing theories.
  - E) Synthesis of above to provide an explanation as to the behaviour observed.

Thus, the analysis of the behavioural data underwent the following: Observational Notes consisted of the photograph, a description of its contents and behaviour of the individuals in them, and the implementation of Collier's inventory. Collier's inventory is an implicit part of these notes and is not formally

stated. Methodological notes consisted of notes made on the method which may have sociological bearing, technical concerns related to photography, and instruction for future sessions: Theoretical notes consist of the implementation of schematic maps, Lofland's analysis of social organizations, and Hall's scale of proximics, as a means to define concepts and integrate existing theories, and the development of concepts leading to a generic theory.

Analysis of the method also utilized Schatzman and Strauss in the following manner. Observational notes, not only utilized the methodological notes in the analysis of behaviour, but also depended on a methodological diary. As Paul Byers (1964) points out, it is not that a camera can take a photograph by itself, rather, a person takes the picture. We virtually take for granted the notebook and pencil, yet we have realized that it is appropriate to take notes only at certain times. Photography, as it is used in this study, must be defined as to its application, and how it is used in the field will help determine its usefulness in research. A methodological diary was kept to facilitate an analysis of the method and would include a description of the researcher's behaviour from his perspective.

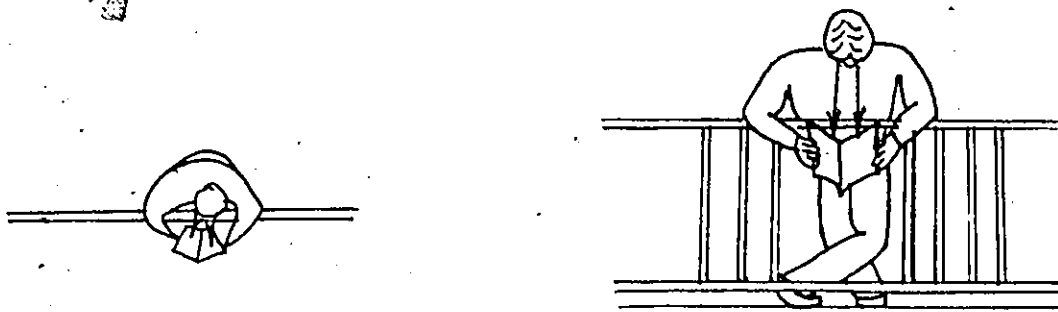
Methodological notes then would consist of the identification of advantages and disadvantages in the use of such a method. Furthermore, slight alterations in the methodology were made to correct the researcher's behaviour in the field.

according to what was noted. For instance, if the researcher was shooting from too great a distance consistently, an attempt was made to correct this practice.

Theoretical notes then weighed the process carefully to consider changes in the methodology, as well as the effectiveness of this method. This was also based on the results of the behavioural analysis. In this manner, the study of public behaviour contributes to the analysis of the method. For in studying public behaviour we see how the methodology is implemented, we can analyze the data, not only in terms of behavioural theory but in the type of information it yields, and we can look at the results of the analysis as to its application and adaptation to sociology.

Figure 3.2.2: Sample of Observational and Methodological Note.





Though the content of this photograph is poor, certain elements can still be seen. This male, who appears to be in his early twenties, is dressed in a plaid jacket, dark pants and running shoes. His hair is dark and is long enough to cover his ears. While leaning on the railing he is reading a magazine. His head is bent forward and his back is arched, his arms are lending support and his elbows rest on the rail. His right leg is on an angle and is straight at the knee, for balance and support, his left leg is bent at the knee and crosses in front of the right leg. This individual, focuses his attention on the magazine. He does not involve himself in the goings on around him. His back is to others and his gaze is fixed. Concentration in the magazine provides with a prop to isolate himself from others, and he is seemingly isolated.

Technically, the photograph is dark and unfocused. If colour film was used such things may be more easily remedied, and provide more detail. Getting closer to the subject may also help in the focusing and adjustment of aperture and shutter speed to the lighting conditions.

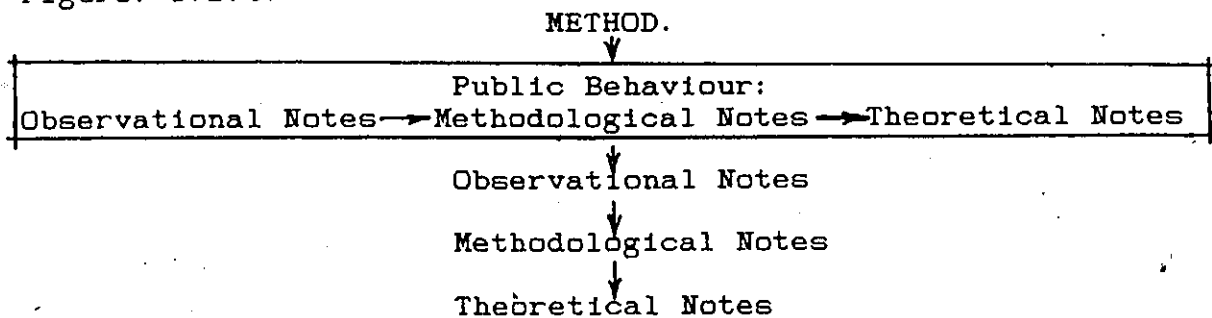
Figure 3.2.3:

1) Behavioural Aspects > Generation of theory. > Methodological  
> Verification of theory > Aspects

2) Methodological Aspects > Verification or — >  
negation of existing >  
notions on the use > Possibilities  
of visual techniques > for the devel-  
for social research. > opment of a  
> Generation of a theory > Visual Sociol-  
or method for the use > ogy.  
of visual techniques >  
in social research. >

Thus the dual nature of this study is realized through the analysis which takes place in the theoretical notes on the examination of the methodology.

Figure. 3.2.4:



### 3.3 Application of Lofland's Analysis of Social Organization.

In attempting to apply Lofland's Analysis of Social Organizations, it was found that his categories were not applicable to the data collected. Units of social organization as defined by Lofland can be altered and reconstructed to be more applicable to the data. If the individual is described as a unit of social organization, really as the smallest unit of social organization then redefinition of Lofland's categories of Units of social organization can be made without altering his definition to an great extent. Lofland's categories of structure, process and strategies contained within the novel generic analysis are applied without redefining them but the sub-categories of "Qualitative Links" and their cases and consequences are not presented due the their repetitive nature.



## 3.3.11 Units of Social Organization: situational scale.

Lofland describes encounters as being: "The smallest-tightest of situations, typically involves only a few people using a modest amount of space over a brief period of time" (1976:27). This can be altered to state that the smallest unit of social organization is that of the individual, and that his interaction is not necessarily with others but with his environment, and/or others who may be in that environment which he/she does not encounter face-to-face. In the event that two or more individuals do encounter each other, then Lofland's definitions may be applicable.

Lofland's definition of "roles" is as follows: "The emphasis on role-scale situations is on the point of view of the single class of actor as he or she looks out on the world and acts on it" (1976:28). This is only part of what will be considered in this category for analysis applied here. Roles, and the identification and application of a specific role, is in effect the categorization or labelling of a person according to a criteria. In this study, roles were identified and applied to specific individuals based on their interaction with significant others shown in the visible data, and in their observed and identified group. Furthermore, roles were identified by observing body position with respect to significant others and through age and gender identification and relationships. Thus, roles have been determined and ascribed to individuals according to their

visible behaviour recorded, in relation other individuals within an identified group.

Lofland's definition of groups is the one category which has been altered the most. Here Lofland describes the group as "... interconnected people [who] ply different roles relative to one another, and each deals with his own role-scale situation; but... taken as a unit - as a group-scale situation that is above and beyond the respective roles involved" (1976:28). Though some of the data does suggest specific roles of individuals in a group, much of the data does not suggest an ascription of an identifiable role for the individuals included in that group. Thus, this unit of organization is not restricted to the analysis of behaviour where identifiable roles are suggested, but looks at the physical structure of the group in their effort to isolate and privatize a public space. Therefore, the role of individuals within a group is not essential, but rather how the group of individuals act as a unit for the purposes of privatization is the primary component.

Secondly, for the purposes of this study and specifically this phase of the analysis, this level of organization shall also be applied to group the individuals who have been observed, photographed and their behaviour categorized according to those emergent categories developed. That is, the photographs which have been categorized under one heading shall be considered to be a "group" and behaviour shown in one photograph may support or

add to the definition of the category as well as the emergent concepts used.

Lofland's definition of "settlements" was used without alteration and is defined as follows:

Interrelated sets of encounters, roles, groups, etc. sharing territory, performing an important range of life-sustaining functions, and having to take one another into account...settlement-scale situations operate on a relatively large scale of population, time, space, and equipment." (1976:29).

Thus, behaviour which occurred in this location can be analyzed as a whole and would lead to a generic analysis.

Though Lofland also included three other levels (organizations, worlds and societies), the scope of this study did not collect data which could be applied to those areas, nor was it intended to. Organizations would deal with specific populations which identifiable and often formalized and written rules. Worlds would involve the identification of individuals belonging to a specific area such as the "business world" or "sports world" (Lofland's examples. 1976:29). Finally, Societies would require the study of a more specific issue as it related to a wider segment of the population. However, it is possible to take this analysis into this last area and this is attempted to some extent.

### 3.3.2] Novel Generic Analysis.

In all three of the "qualitative forms" (Lofland, 1976:48) contained within the novel generic analysis the purpose is to

identify causes and consequences which would suggest qualitative links. This is facilitated by asking a question in each of the stages. When analyzing the structure the question asked is: "What are the defining features of this structural unit?" (1976:46). Similarly, when looking at Process one asks: "What typical stages, phases, sequences, or cycles do various types of social organization go through?" (1976:46). Finally, the questions asked when one reaches the qualitative form of "strategies" is: "How do people do things in units of social organization? and, What are their generic situations and strategies?" (1976:46). In answering these questions in relation to the units of social organization used, Lofland's model enabled the researcher to analyze the data and draw key linkages so as to provide some form of sociological explanation as to how people privatize a public space.

### 3.3.3] Adapted Model.

Where Lofland had seven units of social organization on the vertical axis, the adapted model would have four units, which have been redefined as above. These four units apply more directly to the data and the emergent concepts and categories. Lofland's novel generic analysis is virtually untouched, and though specific forms, and the causes and consequences leading to qualitative links, are not presented in such a formalized manner (to do so would be an exercise in repetition), they were a major part of the analysis which took place at this stage. Thus, where Lofland had sixty-three cells in his grid, only sixteen are

required here.

It Must be noted that the application of roles, which is a unit of social organization, does not extend across to analysis by strategies. This is due to the location specific nature of the study and the methodology used, specifically the use of photography. Strategies cannot be identified since the role is not confirmed nor is the verbal interaction noted. Thus, this cell is left blank. However, for the other units of social organization, the analytical stage of strategies is applicable and is completed.

Finally, this model is not applied during the analysis of each session. It is applied when all sessions are completed and key linkages are drawn between all six sessions. Thus, it is in analyzing the entire sample that this model is applied fully. Also, a more detailed explanation of the adaptation is given in section 7.1 because of the reliance on the emergent concepts to explain the redefinition of Lofland's categories.

#### 3.41 Additional Notes.

Throughout the presentation and analysis of the data, the distinction between each session was maintained. It was felt that by doing this both the emergent quality of the study could be demonstrated and that the methodology would also be emphasized; hence, the decision for the sessions, rather than the categories to take precedence. Furthermore, the categories, their definition and development, were not to be sacrificed. But, if the sessions

were not maintained, then the emergent quality of the study would not be apparent and would not contribute to the study of the methodology. Only at the end, when the data was considered in its totality, specifically when Lofland's model of analysis was implemented, was the sessional distinction given a back seat.

Schematic maps of the photographs were done for each category. These maps present the photographs according to session, and key linkages are drawn between photographs in that category. Many of these key linkages are shown as a progression from one session to the next. Though all the photographs used for the analysis were originally shown on these maps, only a sample of the data is included on the maps presented here (photographs included in this presentation). Notes were made on each map with regards to these key linkages and their definitions.

During the research, emphasis was placed on obtaining data according to the methodology used and the research tools employed. Attention was paid to the quality of the data and the process of analysis was not limited to that which would best reveal and explain behaviour. Analysis was conducted with consideration as to method as well. That is, the analysis process had to result in explanations of behaviour, but it had also to contribute to analyzing the method. Thus, Schatzman and Strauss' notation model for organizing data.

remaining questions.

#### **4. Remaining Questions.**

There are several questions regarding this study which have not yet been examined: First, in using grounded theory, since one must operate without a guiding theory, can a sociological study be done in a kind of "theoretical vacuum"? Secondly, there are issues concerned with the use of photography as a method of note taking which shall be addressed. Thirdly, since this study examines nonverbal behaviour using photography, restricting this study to such a medium and without interviewing the subjects, can the researcher confirm or assess whether the meaning he/she is ascribing to an action depicted in a photograph is actually the meaning the actor intended? Fourthly, for what reasons has still photography been chosen rather than another visual medium? Finally, what are the ethical implications in using photography for social research, especially when the subject is unaware of this process? These questions are examined in this section.

##### **4.1. Question 1: Grounded Theory.**

Research cannot be conducted in a theoretical vacuum, since a researcher would need to be ignorant of existing theory and this is not a likely situation. Therefore, a grounded theory approach does not necessarily advocate conducting research in such a void but rather conducting research without the theory influencing the data collected. In other words, no theoretical orientation should guide the method nor should it have an influence on what types of data are collected. This distinction

remaining questions.

is one of inductive rather than deductive reasoning, and does not set out to prove an existing theory but to seek new ones. Thus, the data collected can relate to a variety of theoretical orientations and the researcher must be cognizant of these various perspectives. Hence, the researcher is not dependent on one theoretical orientation but on many in his/her attempt to develop a new theory.

#### **4.2. Question 2: Note Taking.**

Sociology, as a discipline, has accepted the process of taking field notes within a qualitative methodology. Taking field notes may be broadly defined as what Signorile (1984) has termed a "verbal transformation". That is, what has been observed and was in a visual mode for the researcher is transformed into words. Thus, if it was possible to represent the original behaviour in its initial visual form, then data is not transformed or abstracted into a written account, but is documented in such a way as to remain in the mode in which it was first acted. Photography allows for this representation. This is not to suggest that photography does not transform the data, but that the data is a one-dimensional visual representation of the action or behaviour studied. Transformation then occurs from a three-dimensional image to a one-dimensional visual image, where the visual aspects and quality is represented rather than a written description where even the verbal aspects of the interaction may not be authentic.



remaining questions.

If this comparison is extended further, to the question of researcher selectivity and bias, then it shall be made evident that photography is no more or less subject to the researcher's biases than are the field notes. A researcher must decide what to record, if it be on paper with a pencil, on audio tape or on film. Selectivity is just as great when deciding to record the interaction of people on paper as it is for film. Just as the researcher using a camera has to decide when to take the photograph, so does the researcher using paper and pencil need to decide when to write a field note. Just as field notes are taken and then sorted, so are the photographs sorted. Photography, however, allows the researcher the ability to review the observation at a later date with more care and time, so that data which may have been over-looked could be brought to light. Selectivity, is diminished with the photograph since others could offer their own interpretation of the situation and not rely only on the researcher's written interpretation. Once a field note is taken, one cannot readily disprove its accuracy since that is all there is: the note as recorded by the researcher, which may or may not include the researcher's biases, and may or may not include the researcher's interpretations.

#### **4.3. Question 3: Awareness of Meaning.**

Certain non-verbal actions have shared but not necessarily conscious meanings. Based on this premise, others are able to read these non-verbal cues and ascribe an appropriate

remaining questions.

interpretation to them. Bill Aron (1979), describes what a viewer is able to gain from such a medium. He states:

...the photograph can give the viewer an emotional connection with - as well as an intellectual understanding of - the scene depicted. Photographs at their least do not simply make assertions; rather the viewer interacts with them in order to arrive at conclusions, an observation made by Dewey about art in general (1957) and discussed in relation to photography by Becker (1978). In our interacting sensitivity to their detail and meaning, photographs can help us to see, feel, and understand in ways that words alone cannot. (Aron, in Wagner, 1979: 67)

Therefore, the researcher is capable of attaching a meaning to a non-verbal action and associating it with a theory or with theoretical concepts. Furthermore, the researcher may in fact be in a better position to ascribe meaning since he/she has examined these actions on a conscious level and has a systematic framework within which to integrate them. It is not the objective of this research to examine the subject's awareness of what he/she gives or gives off. Rather, the objective of this research was to examine the contribution of non-verbal communications to the privatization of a public space.

#### 4.4. Question 4: Still Photography.

There are various aspects of doing research with still photography that are not present when using film or video tape. Raymond Birdwhistell (1970) used film in his study of body motion. Birdwhistell recorded the behaviour and then analyzed the film frame by frame. This method of analysis is one which does not observe the behaviour itself, but one which examines the recording or representation of the behaviour. When behaviour is

remaining questions.

continuously recorded on film, then the researcher tends not to attend to the behaviour as it occurs. Still photography requires the attention of the researcher throughout the situation. If the researcher using still photography does not attend to the behaviour then he/she would be at a loss to select and record the behaviour. No decisions are being made as to the behaviour as it occurs when using film or video tape. Decisions are being made when using still photography.

These decisions are similar to those made by a researcher who is using observation or participant observation. How does a researcher using participant observation decide what he/she is to write down? Behaviour is manifested which contributes to what that researcher is examining. A researcher using fieldnotes cannot record every movement the subject makes, but selects what is to be recorded while attending to the behaviour taking place. Similarly, when using photography, the researcher attends to the behaviour and with the use of a camera, makes a visual fieldnote of the behaviour as it occurs. Becker addresses the question of decision making as it applies within photography:

Photographers like to capsule their understanding of people, situations, even countries, in one compelling image. Cartier-Bresson (1952) coined the phrase "the decisive moment" to refer to that moment when things fall into place in the viewfinder in such a way as to tell the story just right. It sounds mystical, but in many of his pictures accomplish just that. (1974: 9)

Sociologists using photography must not convey that their "decisive moment" is, even in part, a mystical process. It is no

remaining questions.

more mystical than the decision of the researcher to write a fieldnote. Though the sociologist is attempting to capsuleize the situation and his/her understanding of the situation in an image, or several images, his/her "decisive moment" is influenced by how the particular behaviour relates to his/her research. Thus, how or when one decides to click the camera does not differ from how or when one decides to write a fieldnote.

Secondly, this researcher is familiar with still photography and is relatively comfortable with this practice. Paul Byers identifies the researcher's comfort with the equipment as a factor to contend with in the field. Byers states:

We tend to suppose that cameras are inherently frightening or interfering instruments where as notebooks, pencils, and observing anthropologists are not. It is not the camera itself that interferes or disturbs, it is the photographer using one who has not learned to put his camera activity into social situations easily and comfortably. (1964: 83)

Though Karl Weick (1969: 369) has argued that subjects would soon "lose their initial awareness of a piece of equipment or even a live observer busily recording their words and deeds", his reference is to a specific and identified group of subjects. In the setting chosen, subjects are not necessarily exposed to the researcher or his equipment long enough to lose this "initial awareness". Thus, the researcher's comfort and familiarity with not only the technical use of the equipment, but also in using it in a social setting, is a factor for methodological consideration. Because of this researcher's unfamiliarity with

remaining questions.

the equipment for film and video tape, and the subsequent discomfort involved - which may influence the technical quality and the subject matter of the image, still photography was chosen.

Finally, it is not easy to take a frame of a film or of video tape and place it next to another such portion in an effort to compare these two sections, or to draw linkages between these sections. A still photograph can easily be juxtaposed with others to provide a variety of options in the organization of the data and in the forming of categories and typologies. This flexibility can lead to areas of examination and analysis which are, at best, complicated by the use of film or video tape. If the data can be organized easily, then the analysis of the data is aided, and is, most likely, more complete. In presenting the data, the organization which was used in analysis can be easily demonstrated. Though still photography exercises a process of selectivity while collecting data, it allows the researcher a flexibility to organize the data without a dependence on editing equipment which may contribute to the retardation of the development of categories and typologies within the analysis.

Still photography was chosen because the researcher is able to observe the behaviour directly as it occurs and selectively record such behaviour; secondly, the researcher's familiarity with the use of a camera to take still photographs and the influence of an unfamiliar technique, such as film or video tape,

remaining questions.

would have on his activity in the field; finally, the ability to organize still photographs in a variety of configurations, for the purpose of analysis.

#### 4.5. Question 5: Ethical Implications.

Two authors shall be drawn on here, Howard Becker (1974) and James Linton (1983). Both addressed ethical issues in their respective papers. Linton's distinctions of "informed consent", "deception", "privacy" and "confidentiality and anonymity" are used here to examine ethical considerations related to the study.

Linton defines informed consent as a concept which:

...implies that a subject voluntarily agrees to participate in the research on the basis of a full and complete knowledge and understanding of the purpose, procedure and risks/benefits of the research, and is free to withdraw his/her participation at any time. (1983:6).

However, Linton also points out that "...it is really not possible for people to give fully informed permission..." (1983: 7). Informed consent cannot really be given since the subject is not included in the shooting, editing, analysis or presentation of the data and its affect on others. This definition is more applicable to research which has a static sample population such as Schefflen's (1972) study of non-verbal communications. Studies examining public behaviour do not necessarily have a static sample, and in many cases consent, either prior to or after the observation, is not sought due to logistic restrictions (the subject may disappear from view, or even the knowledge of being observed may alter behaviour, or the sheer numbers of people

remaining questions.

involved) (i.e., Hall, 1974, as noted by Linton).

In the proposed study, one cannot anticipate the behaviour sufficiently to gain consent prior to the photograph being taken, and cannot contact each person who has been photographed for their consent due to the number of people involved and the inability to contact them after the observation is completed. It is sufficient to say that because an individual is in a public place, his/her actions are within the realm of public scrutiny, thus giving licence to being viewed.

Linton also examines various aspects involving deception of the subjects by the researcher. He acknowledges that the camera does affect the behaviour of people by the number of people who "mug" for the camera, or the football players who crowd into a picture and shout "hi mom". However, Linton also suggests that these situations are few and cites various studies where the presence of a camera has not made a significant impact on the behaviour of the subjects. These studies which Linton outlines are done on either closed groups where the researcher has obtained permission from the collective, i.e. an Indian reserve or a family household, and of studies done by people who are familiar to members of the group. In a location such as the one described here, permission cannot be obtained, nor is the population in this location a closed, collective or cohesive group. Furthermore, the camera is not hidden and the photographer does not have the opportunity to become familiar to the subjects

remaining questions.

since the subjects are mostly transient.

Goffman distinguished between a public place as being "any regions in a community freely accessible..." and a private place as being "soundproof regions where only members or invitees gather" (1963:9). Linton seems to be bearing this distinction in mind while examining his categories of deception (as illustrated above) and of privacy. Informed consent, says Linton, "is required for private settings" (1983: 13). However, when discussing privacy as it applies to the public region, Linton cites Edward Hall:

"what mankind publicly displays for all to see, hear, feel, touch, etc., is a proper provenance for the anthropologist's and by extension general visual researcher's observation. This, of course, does cover a great deal and should place few restrictions on any fieldworker." (Hall, 1974. as quoted by Linton)

Thus privacy, as an ethical concept, is primarily restricted to the private region.

In this study, private regions are not a factor. In examining the privatization of a public space, the individual(s) remains in the public region and attempts to become familiar with the region as if it were part of his/her private domain. Thus, behaviour in this setting is performed in a public region which is accessible (in this case visually accessible) to members of this community.

In many types of research, great pains are taken to secure confidentiality and anonymity of the subject(s). Names and other details are altered to protect the identity of the subject.



remaining questions.

However, using photography as a means of collecting data readily enables anyone viewing the data to identify visually the subject(s) concerned. Some have suggested that faces or various identifying marks should be blocked out, even though names and other information are not given. Howard Becker, is of the opinion that these techniques of preserving the identity of the subject should not be undertaken.

Unless you block out faces and other identifying marks, everyone in a photograph is identifiable and there is no possibility of preserving anonymity. That is the strength of the medium, and no one would sacrifice it for ethical considerations. The strength of photographic work may not depend on the people and organizations studied being identified specifically, since the implicit argument is that what you see is characteristic of a large class; so the people in individual prints are in effect anonymous, though they might be known to some who see the pictures and others could conceivably find out who they are if it seemed important. (Becker, 1974: 20) (also cited by Linton, 1983: 14).

Thus, in this study the subjects' faces or other identifying marks are not blocked out so as to preserve the optimal capacity of the image.

In all of Linton's examples of gaining the subject's permission and consent for the conducting of the research or the use of the data, the subjects are either in a closed or private setting, or they are studies of defined groups conducted by someone who is familiar to the individuals or the group as a whole. Studies involving public behaviour are touched on only in so far as they permit the researcher to collect data without gaining the explicit consent of the subjects, because of the

remaining questions.

various reasons discussed above. Furthermore, the subject's visual appearance in the photograph should not be altered to preserve anonymity. These guidelines were implemented in the study.

#### 4.6. Summary

This chapter examined some questions which remained unanswered in the methodology. It is hoped that by addressing these questions in this manner that the reader has got a clearer understanding of what this methodology has attempted to accomplish and the reasoning behind some of the choices made by the researcher. In using a grounded theory approach the emergence of sociological concepts took the form, and the terminology of the specific. But also, application of theoretical concepts which have already been developed were applied in the analysis. This was made possible through the use of this approach, in that no specific theoretical perspective was chosen prior to data collection. Glaser and Strauss do not specify how data is collected or organized. Thus, Schatzman and Strauss provided the means of organization while data was collected by using photography. Sections three, four and five have examined specific questions related to a photographic method. In Part II of this study, the behavioural data which has been collected by using the method referred to earlier are examined and analyzed.

## PART II

### PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA ON PUBLIC BEHAVIOUR.

Data collection for this study spans a one year period and though only six data collection sessions in the field were conducted, 350 photographs were collected. Prior to data collection an initial session in the field took place to survey the location, noting vantage points, possible settings and behaviours in those settings, as well as general behaviours throughout the location. Though this researcher had prior knowledge of this location because of his own use of this shopping complex, an orientation session was needed to actually approach the location as a researcher rather than in the familiar role of shopper.

Because of the time span between sessions it cannot be said that the level of Intimate Knowledge was achieved in the manner in which Lofland intended. It is doubtful that Intimate Knowledge is achieved in this location except by those who work within this complex. Furthermore, since "intimate Knowledge" of the location would require a knowledge of the residents (persons who work in the complex, i.e. security guards, shop keepers and their employees, maintenance workers, etc.) and the research at hand did not study the operations or organization of the location or of behaviour in the shops, contact with "residents" was limited to the inclusion of these people within the photograph if they

introduction to part II.

also happened to be behaving in a manner which was relevant to this study. Secondly, persons who use this complex, for the most part, do so on an infrequent basis. This study was not conducted to examine the behaviour of residents but of behaviour involving the privatization of a public space. Thus, intimate knowledge of the behaviour rather than the location is required.

A total of seven sessions were conducted in the field, one for orientation, and six subsequent sessions for data collection. To present these 350 photographs and the analysis associated with each one, would require as many pages. Furthermore, not all photographs are applicable to the behaviour studied because of the emergent nature of this research, and some have been discarded because of technical reasons. Though the first two sessions were done within the pilot study, photographs taken during this stage of research relate to the behaviour studied and have been included in the final data sample.

From the total 350 photographs, the following were used for analysis in each of the sessions: fifty five from the first two sessions making up the pilot study, equalling 25.11% of the data collected; Thirty-eight from the third session, equalling 17.35% of the data collected; Thirty-eight from the fourth session, again equalling 17.35% of the data collected; Twenty-five from the fifth session, equalling 11.41% of the data; And sixty-five from the sixth and final session, equalling 29.68% of the data collected. Thus, sixty-five percent of the data collected went

introduction to part II.

through analysis contributing to the results presented here. All photographs were analyzed as to their technical quality and their significance for the related subject under study.

Each of the six data collection sessions shall be summarized as to the collection of the data and the data itself. Sessions one and two, and the orientation session, are those conducted within the pilot study and are presented in that context in the first section of this chapter. Sections three to six are presented in separate sections following the results of the pilot study. In each of these sections data is both presented and analyzed in relation to the previous sessions. All sessions were conducted at different times of the day, on different days of the week, and at different times of the year.

However, prior to presenting the data, certain concepts which have emerged through the analysis shall be presented. These concepts came out of the data analysis and the knowledge of them, and their definitions would better enable the reader to understand their use and the context of their use. Thus, the developed concepts are presented in chapter 5. Following the pilot study [section 6.1], the analysis of sessions three to six shall be presented in sections 6.2 to 6.5. Chapter 7.1 presents the schematic maps used to draw key linkages between the data. An analysis of the data according to John Lofland's model is done in section 7.2 and finally, section 7.3 is a summary of the behavioural data as well as the theoretical conclusions.

related concepts.

## 5. CONCEPTS RELATED TO THE ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC BEHAVIOUR.

Throughout this analysis several concepts emerged and were developed. In this section, the major concepts are explained as they have emerged and prior to existing sociological theory, being tied to them. Many of these concepts are linked to each other and work in combination in the behaviour identified. Though certain concepts may be used only in one section, the links still exist with concepts used in other sections. Separation of concepts, and for that matter behaviour, does not conform to any rule of exclusivity but are identified and categorized in relation to specific setting type and general behaviour type. This then results in the overlapping of the emergent concepts related to the behaviour identified and the settings.

Furthermore, some concepts have gone through a process of assimilation. Through the analysis process, key linkages were drawn between concepts from one category to another. These linkages served to not only link session to session, but also to link category to category. Thus, similarities in behaviour patterns were noted and the only major distinction between categories remaining was the setting type. This is reasonable since this study did not start off initially with a determined behaviour or specific population, but with a location.

In the pilot study the notion of private spaces in public places was identified as a possible area of study. This notion was further investigated in the subsequent sessions of data

related concepts.

collection and even permeated data which was not collected with that intent. Thus, the analysis of the data has concentrated on the means by which privatization is attempted in a public place. It has been found that this broad notion can be divided into two major parts: privatization through **isolation** and through **attraction**. Isolation is almost expected in an attempt to privatize a public space and its definition is made explicit below. However, privatization through attraction has a more obscure definition and, as determined by this data, is somewhat convoluted and transgresses the concept of isolation.

**Attraction** as a means of privatization is the use of behaviour which would attract the attention of others in general to the individual(s). However, this attention-gaining behaviour also serves to prohibit others from intruding on the individual(s) and that individual's, or those individuals', defined space. Thus privatization is achieved. It can be said that the behaviour which attracts attention also isolates those involved from the goings on around them.

For example: A couple involved in an argument to such an extent that they focus their attention to one another, thus block out the goings on around them. Thus, the creation of isolation between themselves yet their behaviour attracts the attention of those around them. Similarly, a couple who are involved in an intimate activity, such as kissing, blocks out others and through this behaviour isolate themselves from the goings on around them

related concepts.  
even if this behaviour does attract the attention of others.

Since, the method used in this study does not go beyond what is made visibly apparent, a statement as to what the subjects feel or think cannot be made. Statements must be confined as to what happened and what was made apparent rather than the psychological state of the subjects and thus, attraction as a concept must be defined within these restrictions. Therefore, behaviour which attracts the attention of others but which also deters others from interfering shall constitute the definition of this concept.

**Isolation** is the primary concept which emerged through the analysis of the data. This concept is an umbrella for others, in that several characteristics were noted in how individuals isolated themselves from the goings on around them. Some of these characteristics have various components. Thus, the definition of isolation is the separation of an individual or a group of individuals from the ongoing behaviour of others in this location. Various strategies may be used by the individual or group of individuals to accomplish this. These strategies include the use of a **focus of attention**, the use of **props** or a **circular formation** or **occupation** in an activity, the construction of a wall, the maintenance of various distances between individuals, and the use of structural (physical) or design elements to shelter oneself or the group.

**Focus of attention [FA]** is a concept which was constructed



related concepts.

as an indicator of an individual's direction of gaze and concentration. Though the latter cannot be precisely determined through photography alone, other factors contribute to determining the FA of an individual. For instance, conversation between two individuals suggests that both maintain a focus of attention on the conversation even though the direction of gaze may vary. A fixed FA is considered to be one where the subject's direction of gaze and concentration is on one activity, whereas a diffused FA is one where the subject does not seem to have one thing to focus on and both direction of gaze and presumably concentration have no real focus of attention.

**Occupation** is a term used to denote an individual's fixed FA on an item such as a book or newspaper. It is where the individual is occupied in an activity and where this usually utilizes a **prop** brought to the setting.

**Props** are defined as being either movable objects brought to the situation or immovable objects or physical structural elements such as walls, railings, trees or garbage cans found in the location. The reclassification of the category RAILINGS can be partially attributed to the railing being used and identified as a prop. Similarly, though it can be said that benches too are props, the activity and behaviour which benches support is substantially different to warrant preservation as a distinct but related category. Thus, props support the behaviour of individuals, often reinforcing the tendency to privatize a public

related concepts.

space. Examples of this can be the use of a structural element such as a wall to provide a needed portion of a human wall; also, areas under stairs, for example, may provide shelter and further distance others from those individuals. Props, then, are strongly linked to the physical structural elements in the design of the building and its capacity to accommodate various aspects of public behaviour.

**Distancing** is based on Edward Hall's (1967) scale of proxemics: Intimate, Personal, Social-consultive and Public spaces or distances. However, there is also an implied social convention at work here, that is, of not getting close or too close to strangers. This can then be said to suggest that distancing is a manifestation of a cognitive process to maintain this social convention. **Props** and **shelter** are considered to aid in this maintenance of distances between the individual and others. Though space is one factor of **distancing**, the orientation of the individual is another factor. That is, the way in which the individual is facing - the positioning of his/her body, and his/her direction of gaze.

**Circular formation** is a term which denotes the tendency for two or more individuals, who make up a unit of social organization (Lofland, 1976), known as a group, to turn their bodies so as to face each other and find a common or shared focus of attention. This tendency is seen in all categories and implements the notion of the wall, as well as, at times, the use

related concepts.

of props.

A term which must not be confused with a physical structural element of the design is the wall. A wall in this context refers to the manner in which individuals may use the backs of their bodies to block out the goings on of others around them. A wall can be constructed by an individual acting singularly, with a prop such as a tree, and/or with other individuals as a unit in an encounter.

Terms defined here are done so to provide the reader with an understanding of the concepts as they are used in the following sections. All of the concepts outlined above relate to the privatization of public space as defined in this study. In the sections and chapters to follow, these terms are applied and elaborated on, and are also intergrated with existing theory.

presentation and analysis of data.

## 6. PILOT STUDY: Presentation and analysis of data.

### 6.1.1. Preliminary Observations: Orientation.

During this session vantage points were noted and certain behaviours became apparent. It was the purpose of this session to acquaint the researcher with the location, in the role of researcher.

It was noted during this session that the structure of this building allowed for a variety of positions where observations/photographs could be made. There are catwalks going to the parking garages which were accessible to the public. Furthermore, there are several settings which overlook floors below, and thus the researcher was able to make observations/take photographs of individuals without influencing their behaviour. In the centre and at both ends of the complex, openings provided a good view of the lower floors while also allowing the researcher to observe/photograph interaction directly across from him on the same floor. Though the noted distance between researcher and subject[s] was great, this distance was bridged by using a 70mm to 300mm telephoto-zoom lens.

Specific areas within this location were also noted where there were constantly high volumes of people. These areas are mostly around the centre fountain located in the Centre Court. It was also noted that one category system could be developed: that of people in **transit** or those who are **stationary**. Though simple in nature, this category system was developed and has proved to

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be useful.

In gathering the first set of data, 400 ASA black and white film was used. Notes which were made during the preliminary session proved to be useful as the various vantage points and setting noted were used to collect data. Other settings were also used and noted for further use. Note-taking at this time was not used for two reasons: 1) An attempt was being made to collect data purely using photography; 2) Lack of insight on the researcher's part as to this use of note-taking to record his own behaviour.

Analysis of the photographs were conducted after this first session. Photographs applicable to this study were retained while others were put aside. Those photographs deemed not applicable to the study were either of subject matter which through the analysis was not decided upon, or were technically bad photographs. Photographs which were not used because of subject matter were dismissed because of the various types of interaction which was observed and all could not be studied at this time. Nine elementary categories were developed at this time. These categories are as follows:

- 1) Parting Behaviour.
- 2) Railings.
- 3) Gatherings.
- 4) Male-Male/Female-Female In Transit.
- 5) Male-Female In Transit.
- 6) Benches.
- 7) Path Analysis Around Centre Fountain.
- 8) Santa's Pavilion
- 9) Directory.

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During the second photo/data collection session, 400 ASA and 1000 ASA colour film was used. In this session data was gathered following the indications resulting from the methodological notes of the first session - the categories decided upon and technical notes such as adjusting camera settings to compensate for existing light, as well as vantage points and various camera angles. Note-taking was also used to keep track of the researcher's activities.

Analyzing the data after the second data gathering session resulted in three of the above categories being dismissed. These categories are as follows: 7) Path Analysis Around Central Fountain (insufficient data and lack of detail); 8) Santa's Pavilion (deemed not in the realm of this study); and 9) Directory (insufficient data). Those categories remaining were analyzed in relation to the previous set of data collected. At this time various concepts emerged from the data. These concepts were adapted from existing theory, primarily that of Lofland (1973) and Hall (1969).

#### 6.1.2) Initial Concepts:

Several concepts were developed during the analysis at this time and used throughout the analysis of these first two sessions as well as being developed and contributing to the analysis of the data in the main study. Lyn Lofland's idea of "private spaces in public places" (1973) and Edward Hall's typology of spaces (1969) were used in part throughout the analysis of this pilot

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study.

It was found that individuals, dyads or groups could be open or closed in their non-verbal behaviour with others. For example, when a triad faces inward and their backs are to those passing by, then this group is said to be closed. That is, they are reluctant to encounter others. Then, if a group is said to be open, their non-verbal communications, though they may not invite an encounter, suggests that they are available for such encounters. It must be stated that this terminology, though similar to various group work theories (Benjamin, 1978; Klein, 1972) and systemic thinking (Compton and Galawy, 1984) are not meant to be defined or applied in the same manner in this study.

Realization that people do not only interact with others but also with their environment must be explicated. This is a fairly obvious point but nevertheless one which needs to be stated. Environmental factors may shape, or may be made to accommodate, various aspects of human behaviour. Some environments are more conducive than others to certain types of behaviour. Thus it is important to determine which design and structural elements better serve specific needs and behaviours. Though this study does not embark on such a task, it does elucidate the importance of the environment and the need for investigating its effects on behaviour.

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#### 6.1.3] Joint Analysis Of Sessions One And Two.

In this section the combined data and analysis of both sessions one and two shall be presented. These categories emerged from the data/photographs collected and were refined further in subsequent analyses of later sessions. Specific photographs are presented as a sample of the behaviour being discussed. Each photograph - which constituted the observational notes - had corresponding descriptions - amounting to what may be called a content analysis - as well as methodological notes. Theoretical notes tied related photographs together, into the category and also introduced theory into the analysis. These theoretical notes are presented here by category. Analysis of the data categories is presented in the following order:

- 1] Parting Behaviour.
- 2] Railings.
- 3] Gatherings.
- 4] Male-Male/Female-Female In Transit.
- 5] Male-Female In Transit.
- 6] Benches.

#### 6.1.4] Parting Behaviour:

Only four photographs are included in this category and all depict various stages of one situation (7 to 10). In this situation it is not known how these two people met; if they came to this location together, arranged to meet here or if they ran into each other accidentally. In this examination, categorized as "Parting Behaviour", it is not necessary to have knowledge of all aspects of their meeting. It is possible to look at one stage in isolation, that of parting company, or saying good bye.



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Observation of this situation commenced after the researcher noticed parting behaviour being initiated by one of the subjects. This initiation took the form of a raised hand and attempt to move further away and leave the situation.

Parting behaviour, as defined here, can be that of the separating of two or more individuals. Various non-verbal cues are given off, such as the raised hand to symbolize a salutation, or the distancing of the subjects. It is the distancing of the subjects in this sequence of photographs which is of primary interest.

Edward Hall (1969) developed four categories of distance between individuals which were primarily distinguished by the measurement of distances between individuals. These four photographs illustrate that the two subjects under observation can be said to be in Hall's category of "social space". However, these two individuals were also observed in "personal space" and in "public space". Once in public space, they were two individuals going in two different directions. This last observation was not photographed because of the technical limitations of the lens used and the distances of the subjects from one another. A wide angle lens would have been required to illustrate both individuals leaving the situation, and though such equipment was used in other cases, the time needed to change lenses would preclude the possibility of photographing this departure.

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Throughout their interaction the subjects also maintained a social, personal and intimate space with two immovable objects, or props - a tree, and a garbage can. Also, the thick black line on the floor is used as a bench mark to note the movement of the female, who maintained her relative position - moving only a couple of feet. These props were used directly by the male who also shifted position greatly. No other person moved in between the two subjects or in between the subjects and the props. These two individuals effectively privatized this entire triangular area.

Props, then, can effectively aid in the privatization of a public space, as demonstrated by the situation observed/photographed. Though others passed or went around this designated area, they did not go through it. Hence, the social space maintained by the subjects, with the help of these props, established this area as a private space. Shifting of direction and the close proximity of those passing by and effectively avoiding this area, was noted and accents this point. Therefore props aid in the definition of a private space in a public place, and strangers rarely intrude between two people in this type of setting, given these conditions.

#### 6.1.5] Railings.

Here, eight photographs are presented (29 to 36) incorporating a railing as a prop to support the behaviour observed. In this set of photographs, the railing defines the

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termination of an area on an upper floor from an area on the floor(s) below. This effectively increases the distance of the subject to others and allows for the possibility of privatizing the space. Though three or more individuals may be in the photograph, as seen in photograph 29, the groupings in the photograph are of individuals and dyads.

Individuals tend to have similar postures while standing and facing the railing and/or while using it for support. Legs are usually crossed and arms are supported on the rail at the elbows as well as being crossed. Those who do not use the rail in this manner, distance themselves from it while maintaining some contact with it. They either grasp the rail or rest a foot on the lower bar, or both. These individuals seem to use the railing not only for resting but also as a look-out post. Time spent here, it seems, is for them, and they do not engage with others even if in close proximity since the posture of most of these individuals is closed.

Dyads too, use the railing as a look-out post, but interaction of the dyad members can range from each looking at others on the floor below (as individuals), to the taking of pictures by one member, to intimate conversations or behaviour. In photograph 35, a couple is seen in intimate contact (space) with each other. In photograph 31, two women are seen to be carrying on a seemingly intimate conversation. In photograph 36 the two females use the railing as a screen while sitting on the

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floor to eat and talk, as well as using the rail to lean against.

Railings allow for intimate activity to some degree. Balconies, which can be seen in photographs 31, 32, 36 and especially 33 and 34, serve to add to the privatization quality of the railing. Intimate and personal spaces can be established between members of a dyad, and personal and social spaces can be established between individuals and others who share the railing. Therefore, the railing allows people to lean on it and rest against it, screens activity and defines areas, and in doing this, it aids in the creation of privacy to some extent, if the subject(s) so desire.

#### 6.1.6] Gatherings:

Gatherings, for the purposes of this study, are those situations where three or more people congregate. In all situations, members positioned themselves so that they were oriented toward the centre of the group. This positioning effectively formed a variation of a circle, with the backs of the individuals turned to those who passed by. This is a natural, and expected formation of any group. However, this formation also produces a wall of protection so that the privacy of the gathering would be maintained. This is demonstrated in photographs 11, 12, and 14. An added feature is utilized in photograph 13, that of a wall. This wall adds to the privacy of this gathering in that others are only able to pass by on one side rather than two sides as is the case in photographs 11, 12,

13 and 14. C

In each of the three photographs mentioned above, there are distinct similarities in the posture. It can be hypothesized that this similarity of the posture of members of a gathering, which is taking place in public, is a bonding mechanism. However, at the same time, two members of the group stand closer together while there is a greater distance maintained with the third. This distancing of one member of the group is a visual example of typical behaviour associated with a triad (Lang, 1983).

Exemplified in all the photographs of this section (11 -16), is the inward orientation of the members in the gathering. In gatherings with smaller numbers of members, a personal space is established and maintained. In two photographs, 14 and 15, intimate distancing (space) is evident. In photograph 14, the child in the stroller is not part of the interaction. However, the stroller is used as a prop, not only to define the space but also as a divider between the female and the older male. Excluded, to some extent, from this interaction between the younger male and the female, is the older male. This exclusion, supports the typical triad behaviour pattern described above.

In the large gathering shown in photograph 16, intimate and personal distances (space) are evident. This may be due to the children trying to get as close to the identified leader/teacher as possible. As in the other photographs, the backs of the subjects are turned to the passers-by, and the direction of gaze

presentation and analysis of data, and focus of attention are turned inward to the affairs of the group.

Generally then, the gathering is a temporary situation, where members help to establish a territory for the group, defined by the posture of those members and their direction of gaze or focus of attention. Intimate and personal distances (spaces) are characteristic, as members are inwardly directed. In a gathering where the composition is a triad, one member is slightly removed from the other two.

#### 6.1.71 Male-male/Female-female in Transit.

In this set of photographs the relationship between individuals who are in transit are examined. Three points are noted in this section: First, in most cases the individuals have synchronized strides and postures. Secondly, in relationships between males, one male tends to lead the dyad or triad, while the others follow. This latter point has given rise to the consideration of a type of power relationship between the males photographed, which is manifested in the pattern adopted while walking together. Followers are usually just behind the leader and slightly to one side. Finally, based on the very limited data, females seem to have a more equitable relationship, since their walking pattern seems to be one where they are side by side.

To elaborate further on the power relationships between males, one must look at who is ahead of whom. Caution must be

presentation and analysis of data. exercised here, since this, though it is visibly apparent, may not be evident in the verbal, interpersonal and psychological relationships of the individuals involved. If the follower-leader relationship is manifested in the verbal interactions of the individuals - who dominates it, directs it, or exercises more control in it - then the visual data may be supported. However, in photograph 5, the older male - assigned the title of "father", one which implies authority, dominance and control, etc. - leads the other two individuals - assigned the title of "sons". Due to this interpretation of this relationship between these subjects, and their assigned titles, the dominance or power relationship which is said to be evident in their walking pattern seems apparent and gains credence. Thus, the follower and leader roles may be apparent while males are in transit and may in fact also manifest itself in their everyday verbal and psychological interaction.

#### 6.1.8] Male-Female.

This category is directly related to the previous category of male-male and female-female walking patterns. Here, male-female walking patterns emerged as one of the categories. Here too, a similar pattern has emerged: males tend to lead in the male-female walking formation. This is demonstrated in two ways. First, when the couple are holding hands, the male's is typically in front. This is a minor point and in fact does not indicate a characteristic of their relationship, but is a visual non-verbal

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cue. Secondly, the body position of the male is ahead and to the side of the female, even while the two may be holding hands. Photograph 3 exemplifies this point. As can be seen, the male walks almost directly ahead of the female while holding her hand and is seemingly clearing a path for her while leading her through this clearing. This may suggest the traditional male role of protector and provider in this relationship, but it is not necessarily the case.

Males, it seems, determine the direction in which the couple walks. Photograph 4 shows a male walking away from a female who is looking at something at the doorway of a store. This dyad had been identified as a couple because of their observed interaction prior to the photograph being taken. They came to this situation together and they were talking to each other; as well, the female hurried to catch up to the male after she finished her activity. This situation, then seems to support the male leadership role as discussed above. However, the above word of caution must be kept in mind.

#### 6.1.91 Benches.

In this study, the term benches shall be applied to any structure which is used to sit on. This would include not only the various types of "legitimate" benches provided in this location, but also places such as stairs or ledges, or the edges of large pots containing plants.

In photograph 17, there are three males sitting on a



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circular bench. The convex design of the bench dictates that each seat be on a slight angle to the previous one. Therefore, each seat faces a slightly different direction. If individuals were seated next to each other, their direction of gaze and their focus of attention would differ from that of the person next to them if looking straight ahead. However, this group of males, though occupying three seats in a row, form a straight line. This seating pattern allows them to be in closer contact with each other; it is also a movement towards a closer group formation, an attempt to form a circle, as in the group formation seen in the section on Gatherings.

Photograph 19 illustrates this point to a greater extent. A child is sitting on the same type of bench as described above. One adult female is squatting in front of the child while another is standing and facing the two just described. Their pattern of formation echoes the formations described in the section on Gatherings: the direction of attention is inward (concave), and the group is closed with their backs to passersby. Just as those in photograph 13 used the wall in aiding their attempts to privatize their space, these three individuals use the convex bench in the same manner. Photograph 18 shows three older males sitting on a straight bench. The formation they are striving for is that of a concave semi-circle. Their direction of gaze and focus of attention is directed toward a hypothetical centre of this circle, or more accurately, the centre of their group.

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These three photographs suggest that the ideal type of group formation for the purposes of interaction and conversation is one which is circular. There is a tendency in all three photographs, plus those discussed in the section on Gathering, to produce a variation on the circular formation, despite the kind of benches being used. Circular benches, as described above, dictate that the individual face away from the centre of the circle, and away from the others. This would seem to produce isolation, since contact with others is hindered by virtue of the design of the bench.

In the following series of photographs, 20, 21, and 22, the isolation of individuals is made apparent. There are four major subjects in these photographs: [1] The male, who is at the far left and in the background of the photograph 20; [2] A second male who is crouching in front of a female [3] in photograph 20, and then moves to the seat next to the female [3] - only after male [1] has moved further away; and a second female [4], who is sitting next to [3] and who is reading a paper. Subjects [2] and [3] are in conflict. This is seen in the data and was noted by the researcher because of the verbal cues given off by the subject [3]. Subject [1], though he focuses his gaze on [2] and [3] also moves one seat away and by photograph 22 his direction of gaze is directly in front of him, and thus, away from the couple in conflict. However, it is not known, nor can it be detected photographically, if he [1] focuses his attention on

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what subjects [2] and [3] are doing. Subject [4], although seated next to [3], and within personal distance (space) of [3], does not seem to be distracted from the paper she is reading, and the position of her seat plus the use of props, enables her to detach herself from the conflict situation. Subjects [2] and [3] sit next to each other and form a straight line, which then leans toward the concave semi-circular formation. Despite the visible conflict between [2] and [3], the design of the bench allows [1] and [4] detachment from this situation. This then, tends to support the hypothesis that circular seating formations, outwardly directed, allow for detachment and diffusion of attention, while formations inwardly directed are more suited to attachment and a more direct focus of attention.

From the above scenario it can be deduced that conflict, in itself, is a factor in creating a private space in a public area. Individuals who are involved in the conflict situation do not concern themselves with those who might observe their conflict, even though their behaviour may actually invite involvement by others, be it a glance or more active involvement. However, those who observe this conflict may react to it in two ways which are polemical: 1) They avoid the conflict or 2) they try to aid the injured or weaker (perceived to be) person in the conflict.

A further area of examination was that of the use of straight benches which are situated in the middle of the pedestrian passageway between the centre and north courts and on

the top floor of the north court. These benches are paired and placed back to back so that they face in opposite directions. It can be seen, especially in photographs 23, 24 and 25, that people tend to use the four corners of these benches while leaving the middle free. This suggests that it is perceived that a greater degree of privacy can be attained while sitting at the edge of the benches, even if others sit directly behind on the other bench. Therefore, turning one's back to someone is a factor which contributes to the privatization of a public space. This was also seen in the data categorized in the sections on Gatherings and Railings. Furthermore, the couple in photographs 23 and 25 provide an interesting dimension to these observations.

In these two photographs, a different male is sitting on the same side of the bench as is the couple, but at the opposite end of the bench. In both instances, the posture and focus of attention of the single males are similar. Both look away from the couple who are in intimate space (Hall, 1969), suggesting that the intimate behaviour the couple engages in is a major factor in the privatization of their space; it also influences the definition of other's space. In a situation where intimacy is expressed, reactions and resulting behaviours of others may parallel those in a situation where conflict is apparent. That is, though intimacy (affection) and conflict are polemic emotional responses, they may elicit similar types of reactions from those who may be affected by the behaviour, or who are in

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close proximity. It was seen that those in close proximity to a conflict situation made efforts to avoid the situation or even to ignore the situation. In the situation where intimacy is expressed, those who are in close proximity respond in much the same way - avoiding and ignoring.

Finally, there is one other area of examination in this section - improvised benches. These are places people use for sitting, which serve other functions which are primary. Stairs or a rim of a pot, or a divider separating one space from another. There are seven such photographs, 26, 27, 28, 59, 60, 61 and 93. All these photographs lend support to the argument that people tend to sit in a circular or semi-circular formation. They also demonstrate that people, given the appropriate structural and design elements, use areas for their own purposes and in doing so, create a private space. This can also be seen in photograph 36 in the section on Railings.

#### 6.1.101. Summary:

A criterion for privacy in a public place emerges in this study. It is the ability of an individual or a group of individuals to obtain some degree of isolation from the goings on and people around them. This isolation was demonstrated in many ways. Through the manipulation of posture individuals were able to define an area and control its function. This was particularly apparent in photographs involving groups. From this point, it is clear that the physical positioning of members within the group

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tends to be circular or semi-circular with the focus of attention toward the centre, like the spokes of a wheel. If a convex circular formation is provided, where focuses of attention are directed outward, then groups of individuals still tend to create a circular or semi-circular, concave formation.

Future data gathering sessions should then concentrate on the six categories established - 1) Parting Behaviour, 2) Railings, 3) Gatherings, 4) Male-male/Female-female, 5) Male-Female and 6) Benches. They should at the same time, be open to the investigation of other forms of behaviour in this location. Within these categories, behaviour which is within the realm of privatization of public spaces is of prime importance. Data already collected and analyzed has contributed to the focusing of this study to the concept of the privatization of public spaces. Structural and/or design elements, such as the type of bench the subject(s) sit(s) on, contribute(s) to an emergent definition of the aforementioned concept. Transit behaviour must also be included in any further data gathering sessions to either contrast with, or support, the notions of privatization and isolation in a public place. However, more data is needed in all areas and concentration on one category should be avoided.

Methodologically, adjustments must be made for the existing lighting and the movement of subjects. Aperture settings and shutter settings must be attended to. Using a higher ASA, such as 400 and 1000 is warranted. Furthermore, the researcher must get

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closer to the subjects so to have more detail visible in the photographs. This closeness must still be balanced by distance so as not to influence the subject's behaviour, since the subject does not have a period of time to get used to the camera or the photographer's presence.

#### 6.2: SESSION 3:

In this session forty-six exposures were made and thirty-eight used for complete analysis; one was discarded during this analysis. One roll of black and white film and one roll of colour film was used. Both were 400 ASA. Data gathering was conducted with the previous set of data, and their subsequent analysis being used as a guide. Thus, the use of 400 ASA film and greater consideration for the conditions of the setting resulted in better quality photographs. Secondly, because the subject of inquiry had been narrowed down, the data collected related more directly to the categories determined and fewer exposures were discarded.

During the analysis, four categories were collapsed into one - Transit. This was done because of the similar nature of the behaviour and not for reasons related to data collection, with the exception of Parting Behaviour. In this case, the researcher found it difficult to collect data showing the parting of the subjects. Efforts to do so, either showed subjects together or as two separate individuals going in two different directions. No other photographs showing the act of parting were collected in

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this session.

Thus, the subsequent analysis of data collected in this session determined the following three categories: 1) Transit, 2) Benches and 3) Railings. Within these categories are the sub-categories of:

TRANSIT = same sex dyads or groups,  
          opposite sex dyads,  
          stopping = gatherings  
                    individuals.  
                    parting behaviour.

BENCHES = dyads and groupings  
          individuals = distancing  
                    occupation  
                    shelter.

RAILINGS = individuals  
          dyads  
          groups.

It must be noted that in the sub-category of "Transit/individuals stopping", this sub-category was developed in relation to all the data gathered prior to the session. Though it only contains one photograph [40] in this session, it was the initial piece of data which enabled the collapsing of categories to this sub-category of "stopping". Thus, the two categories "parting behaviour" and "gatherings" in the pilot study were reclassified as being part of the category "stopping" in session three, based on photograph 40. Therefore, "stopping" involves an individual or a group of individuals, who take a break from being in transit to stop and talk prior to going their separate ways, or to attend to something such as putting an item away, unbuttoning a coat, or tying a child's shoelace. In session six,



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railings were included as a stopping activity defined by location.

In this session, five further photographs demonstrated the male-female walking pattern which emerged in the pilot study, two are shown [37 and 39]. Four photographs showed individuals of the same sex in transit, and further developed the Male-male and Female-female transit pattern. However, only one is included in the data presented [39]. Intrinsically included in these patterns is the concept of Follower/Leader which emerged in the pilot study and which is supported here.

Seventeen photographs were collected which are categorized under Benches. Six of these photographs, which represent the behaviours of individuals using benches, are presented in this study. These six photographs illustrate the following concepts and show individuals in a group leaning towards a circular formation; the concept of occupation as a means to define a personal space whereby individuals distance themselves from others; and how individuals use their backs as a wall.

Photograph 41, shows three men sitting on a park bench located in the passageway from the north court to the central court. This photograph illustrates almost the identical formation which is evident in photograph 18 in the pilot study. In both cases the two individuals at either end of the formation, lean out and turn to face towards a central focus of attention. In the centre of these two is the third individual who sits back and

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also faces this common or shared focus of attention. In combination, these three individuals form a semi-circle. This particular type of bench limits the full circular formation which can be seen in photograph 12 in the pilot study. Even so, this circular formation is prevalent in both. Furthermore, this formation is evident, and supports behaviour seen in photographs 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 26, 27 and 28.

In three of the presented photographs, 42, 43 and 46, props can be seen as being a factor in defining space. Photograph 43 shows a woman who is intent on the activity of knitting and to her side there are two bags and a drink. Her activity involves the use of the props and serves to focus her attention, claim a territory and isolate herself from the goings on around her. Her proximity to the male at the other end of the bench supports these claims and privatization of a public place is achieved. In photograph 43, similar elements are visible. This male uses the newspaper to not only focus his attention but also to claim territory. His body position further isolates him from the goings on around him and privatization is again demonstrated.

Photograph 46 shows other elements at play. Bench type plays an important role here. This curved bench allows individuals to either face towards the centre of the circle or away from it. Thus, individuals can be in close proximity to each other but still privatize their space because of the direction of gaze and focus of attention. In this photograph a jacket and a parcel

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divide the two parties as does the direction in which both parties face. Both parties, because of their direction of gaze are separate from one another and privatize their own space despite their close proximity.

Photograph 44 involves the concept of shelter. Here two individuals shelter themselves from the goings on around them by the physical structure available. They are in effect hidden from passers-by and are out of the way. One can notice that the figure of the man in transit is a more powerful image, or that the viewer's attention is drawn to him prior to noticing the two sitting under the steps and eating.

Photograph 45 demonstrates the influence of bench type in the positioning of individuals. Three of the four corners of the bench are occupied, and if the fourth was also used, the middle is left free. This is seen in photographs 23, 24 and 25 as well. What is worth noting here is the direction in which two of the individuals are facing. A greater than ninety degree angle is established between the direction of gaze of the older male and that of the female with a shopping bag. Their backs are virtually turned towards each other and seemingly both block out the other so as to increase their isolation and their privatization of this space.

Eight photographs in the category of railings were gathered in this session, five are presented here. As determined in the pilot study, similar postures were adopted by the individuals

photographed and this is evident in the data collected in this session. Photographs 47, 48 and 49 demonstrate the pattern established and are similar to those photographs in the previous sections [photographs 29 and 30].

In photograph 49 the elements of isolation and shelter are nicely demonstrated. This male has chosen a perch high above the goings on of the complex. This balcony is five floors above the top floor of the shopping mall. It is the top floor of the parking garage attached to the complex. This individual has isolated himself from the activity of the complex by finding shelter and placing distance between his setting and that of the shopping mall below.

Photograph 50, though blurred and dark, is included because it shows two individuals who have isolated themselves through acts of intimacy. A female leans with her back against the railing while the male leans against her, both have their arms around each other and their focus of attention is fixed on the other. This behaviour places these individuals in an intimate space to one another, and their focus of attention serves to isolate them from the goings on around them. Thus, this photograph supports the notion that intimacy is an isolating factor and privatizes a public space.

Methodological considerations for further sessions include that of paying more attention to the lighting conditions and in

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focusing. Aperture and shutter speeds must also be attended to more closely. This is more apparent with the black and white photographs where many of them are not in focus and are dark, making it far more difficult to obtain good results for analysis. Photographs 37, 38, 48, 50 and 51 are black and white but are marginal in quality. Better results are obtained by using colour film. Considerations involved in the choice of colour film are more likely to be along the lines of the angle at which the photograph was taken or the distance the researcher was from the subject. Photographs 39, 41 and 42 could have yielded more detailed accounts if the angle had been more direct. Photograph 43 may have been improved if the distance the researcher was to the subject had been decreased. Composition is also a factor. Photograph 49 could have been better composed to reflect the isolation of the individual but this would result in a less detailed account of the individual's posture and facial expression. What should be emphasized? Since the facial expression is not sufficiently detailed it may have been better to emphasize the distance and isolation factor. This type of thought process must be exercised more while in the field.

#### 6.3: SESSION 4:

In this session thirty-eight photographs were used for analysis and sixteen are presented here: two in the category of transit, three in stopping, six in benches and five in railings.

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All photographs were taken using colour film since better results were obtained with colour rather than black and white film in previous sessions. All of the data supports previous conclusions and concepts which have developed, but some contribute to the advancement of these notions and provide clearer examples of behaviour cited.

Photographs 52 and 53 support the concepts already developed pertaining to the category of transit and the various transit patterns established. No new variations were noted and it is possible that this category has been exhausted in its contribution to the concepts already developed. Here the male-female transit pattern, and the leader/follower relationship is again seen and the patterns hold true.

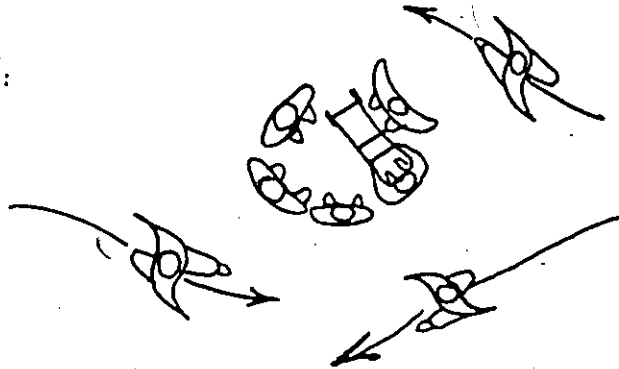
Data collected and analyzed in the sub-category of stopping also support the previously developed concepts. Individuals in photographs 54 and 56 utilize the physical structural prop of a tree to support their behaviour and to provide an extension of a wall which is created by the individual's backs. Photograph 56 demonstrates this very clearly. This male leans against the tree with his back to others directly behind him and thus effectively blocks out their behaviour.

Photograph 55 clearly shows the circular formation of a group and its isolating features. There is a definite circle formed with the focus of attention directed toward the centre, and the individuals who are part of this group create a

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privatized space by walling off the goings on around them. Furthermore, it can be seen that those who pass this stationary group alter their direction in order to go around the group in such a way that a path analysis of the situation would show the following:

figure 6.1:



Thus, the concept of the circular formation and all it implies is supported further.

Several interesting situations arise in the category of benches. Photograph 57 was taken in the south court and shows the circular convex benches. Five individuals are shown here, two of whom form a couple. These four parties sit at near-ninety degree angles to each other and is similar to the position of the subjects in photographs 23, 24, 25 and 45, which are of individuals using the straight benches. All four corners of the straight benches were used before the middles of the benches were occupied, and this is paralleled in the circular benches located in the south court.

Photograph 58 is similar to photograph 46 in session three. However, this photograph shows two groups, one of three males facing towards the centre of the circle created by the bench and

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the other of three women who use the outside of the bench. Here the circular formation which this group tends to create is manifested in two different ways, and is in fact a photograph which illustrates contrasting situations next to each other: (i) When a group uses a concave bench then the individuals do not have to adjust their body position to any great extent, a turning of the head is sufficient. However, (ii) when a group uses a convex bench, body positions have to be adjusted so to be able to form a circle where the focus of attention is directed towards the centre of the group. In this photograph, the group of three women adjust their body position in such a way that one of the individuals is standing while the other two sit. In both cases this circular formation is sought by the individuals involved.

Photographs 59, 60, 61 and 62 are concerned with improvised benches. Photograph 59 and 60 are particularly interesting in that an individual is seen sitting on the floor of a fairly busy area. In photograph 59 this individual, though somewhat hidden has clearly defined his place. When first observing this picture, the viewer may think there is something unusual but will have to look further to determine what it is. This individual has defined his space by his body position and with props brought to the setting and physical structural props at the setting. This can be seen in photograph 60. Also, this individual has focused his attention on the magazine held in his hands and resting on his lap. His legs which extend out have claimed territory and few



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people come close to this territory, as seen in photograph 59.

Stairs are a common area for people to use as seats. In photograph 61 the individuals virtually have claimed a territory between the two railings and extending from the bottom of the stairs to the top. Blocking off this section of the stairs has enabled them to privatize this space. There is also evident, a tendency toward a circular formation and the backs of the individuals form a wall to support their claim over this space. This claim may not be so strong if the other sections of the stairs were also used by others to sit on and if there was an individual who wished to use the stairs to get from top to bottom.

Photographs 63 to 67 are categorized in railings. Two of these photographs support the hypothesis regarding posture which have been mentioned in previous sections. Photograph 64 has an added dimension, that of the use of physical structural props. It can be seen that the planter located at the right of the photograph hides this individual from others. But since her back is toward any passer-by on the same floor, she achieves isolation. At the risk of over stepping the boundaries of what this data does contain, one can say, by the expression on her face, that this individual is tired and/or bored. Her focus of attention is diffused and she is seemingly staring into space. These elements also contribute to the privatization of this space by this individual.

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Photograph 65 shows two individuals sitting on a bench surrounded on three sides by a railing, with their backs to those passing by, and participating in the intimate activity of kissing. These two individuals are in intimate space to each other, and their behaviour is an isolating factor which contributes to the privatizing of this space. This photograph is related to photographs 20, 21, 22, 35 and 50. In these photographs the intimacy-conflict dichotomy is evident and privatization is achieved through such intense activity.

Photographs 66 and 67 introduce a new concept, that of bridging. Bridging occurs when individuals of a group are located on two different floors but communicate with each other across this distance. Privatization, as with conflict, is achieved through attraction; that is the behaviour of these individuals attracts the attentions of others in the setting but at the same time isolates the group in that their action identifies the individuals as being part of that group. This is observed in both of the above cited photographs.

Using colour film has improved the results obtained and the quality of the exposure is generally good. Attention to the camera settings may have also been a contributing factor. However, some of the photographs taken in areas where there was indirect natural lighting produced hazy and slightly darker photographs, specifically photographs 53, 58 and 60. However,

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this has had a minimum impact on analysis. Further attention must be paid to focusing. Photographs 54, 61 and 66 reflects this continuing problem. Again angle and composition could be improved and more consideration should be paid to these factors. For instance, photograph 65 may have been improved if the angle of exposure was less and the subjects were photographed 'head on'. Problems in this area will continue because during the time it would take to set up a better shot, the behaviour may be over or the subjects may leave the setting.

#### 6.4: SESSION 5:

Though seventy photographs were taken during this session only twenty-five were used for analysis. This is primarily the result of an incorrect ASA setting. Two photographs are presented here in the category transit, two in stopping, two in benches and four in railings. Only two photographs shall be discussed in any depth here [69 and 72], the others are presented to demonstrate that the various concepts developed so far were also seen to be operative during this session. Thus, photograph 68 relates to the male-female transit pattern: 70 to the use of props while stopping; 71 to the circular formation of a group while stopping; 73 to the distancing of individuals on straight benches: 74, 75, 76 and 77 to the posture of those who stood at the railing.

Photograph 69 advanced the concept of the male-male transit

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pattern further. Here four males are seen in transit. Evident in this photograph is the diamond shape they form and this then contributes to the leader/follower relationship. In comparing this group of individuals to those in other photographs related to the male-male transit pattern, it can be noted that this diamond shape, though having variations depending on the number of individuals, is evident in the previous cases as well.

Photograph 72 shows three males sitting on a curved bench facing away from the centre. Each individual has separated himself from the others by a distance of three to five feet, which is within the range of the personal to social-consultive range of Hall's (1969) classification. Unlike photograph 46, where two individuals face in opposite directions, in photograph 72 distance is the primary element for isolation.

Because of the incorrect ASA setting the exposures used were considered to be the best of the session. Again, focusing remains a problem and one related to the speed at which photographs must be taken. Lighting conditions also contribute to this problem since the darker it is the more difficult it would be to focus. These two conditions emphasize this problem and the difficulty in photographing in this location

presentation and analysis of data.

#### 6.5: SESSION 6:

Sixty-five photographs were used in the analysis of this section and twenty-two are presented here: three in transit, five in stopping, eight in benches and six in railings. Three photographs shall be discussed in some detail, the remaining thirteen are included to support concepts discussed in the notes on previous sessions. Thus, photograph 78 supports the male-female transit pattern: 79 and 80 relate to male-male and female-female transit patterns: 81 and 82 support the circular formation of groups while stopping: 86 and 87 are good examples of how props brought to the setting aid in the definition of space and its privatization: 88 and 89 support the concept of the wall in aiding privatization: 90 and 91 shows the distancing of individuals on straight benches (the use of the four corners): 92 relates to the concept of shelter: 93 directly relates to photograph 61 which illustrates the privatizing of this same stairway: 94, 95, 96 and 97 again demonstrate the similarities of the posture of individuals standing at a railing: and, 98 and 99 are further examples of bridging.

Photographs 83, 84 and 85 are of adult-child groupings. Though in photograph 83 and 85 the circular formation can be seen, the interaction between adult and child is of concern here. Photograph 83 shows older children in this group. Here the adults are interacting primarily with each other while the children look on. In photograph 84, the male (father) attends to something and

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is looking into a shopping bag while the small children are looking around. In photograph 85, the children seem to be in an age group between those in the two previous photographs. Here the adult female (mother) is bent over and is attending to something on the floor while the children look on. No real conclusion can be drawn from these descriptions. Further research in this area would be needed to make any significant statement about the interaction between adult and child. However, no further data collection was planned within the context of this study. Reasons for this are based on maintaining the limits of the study to the defined categories and behaviours already identified. This area of study is worth noting for future examination. Thus, these photographs were analyzed in relation to the tendency towards the circular formation which is found in groups.

Most of the methodological problems identified seem to have been rectified in this session. Even the problem of focusing in indirect and diffused lighting is limited. Out of the seventy-three exposures only eight were discarded and this attests to the lack of technical problems. Composition of the photographs is good and more attention seems to have been paid to this problem. However, increased attention to composition is not always possible or advantageous since subjects might stop their significant behaviour while the photographer/researcher perfects the composition of the shot. Distance of the researcher to the

presentation and analysis of data. subject has also been improved; there are fewer photographs with large amounts of space which do not contribute to the analysis.

Collection of data is terminated with the completion of this session. With the exception of the three photographs cited above (83, 84 and 85), data being analyzed is found to result in repetition of conclusions and results. In fact data in this session has generally supported previous data and has not provided many new results.

#### 6.6. SUMMARY.

This chapter has presented not only the data collected but also an analysis of that data. A session by session format of presentation was used to demonstrate the "process orientation" of this study as well as to represent the actual order of occurrence. Thus, data collection and the analysis of one session contributes to the collection and analysis of data in subsequent sessions. Concepts which emerged from the analysis of data in the early sessions linked the sessions together. These concepts were stated in Chapter 5 of this study. Furthermore, the categories which emerged during the Pilot Study also provided a link between the sessions. These categories underwent slight modification in the process, but the general intent was maintained.

Key linkages, then were developed both horizontally (sessions) and vertically (categories) as is illustrated in the schematic maps presented in the following chapter [7.1]. These

presentation and analysis of data.

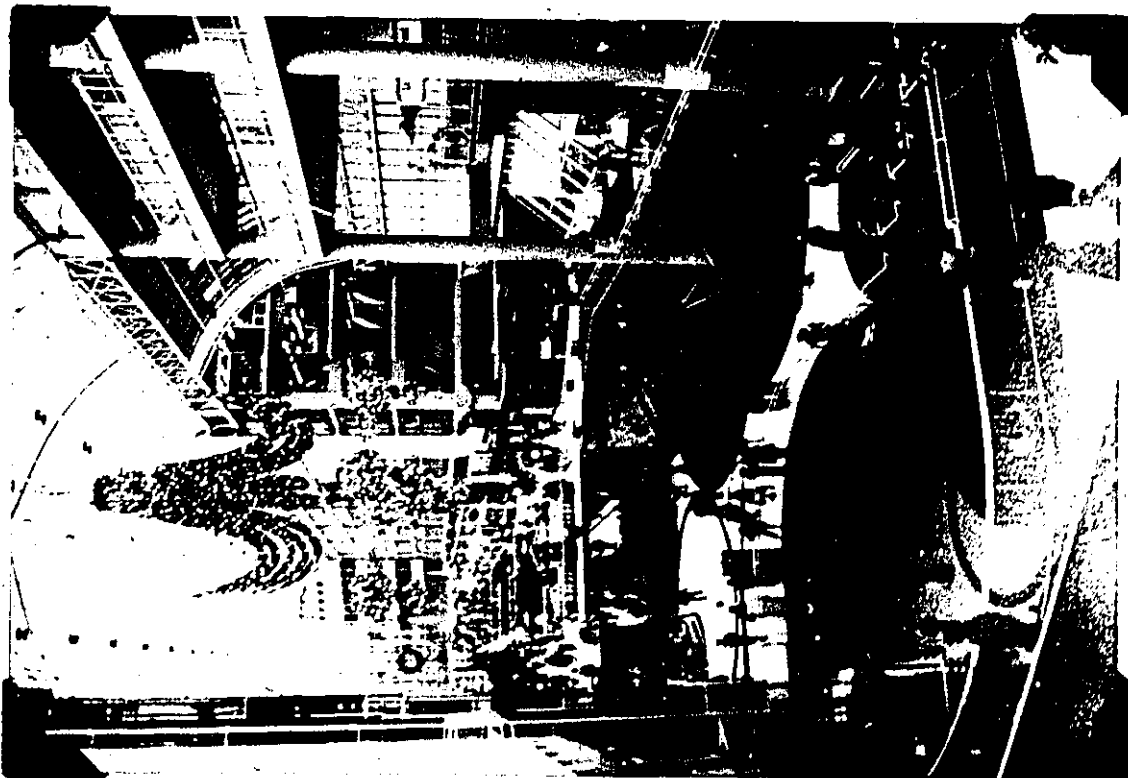
key linkages underwent further analysis after the sixth and final session. This final analysis implemented a modified form of John Lofland's analysis of social organizations, as outlined in Chapter 3, section three. Application of this adapted version of Lofland's model is summarized in Chapter 7, section two. Many of the concepts, and their manifestation in the behaviour of the individuals photographed was verified using this model. Through this application of Lofland's model, the emergent concepts which were noted in this chapter were then integrated with existing theory.



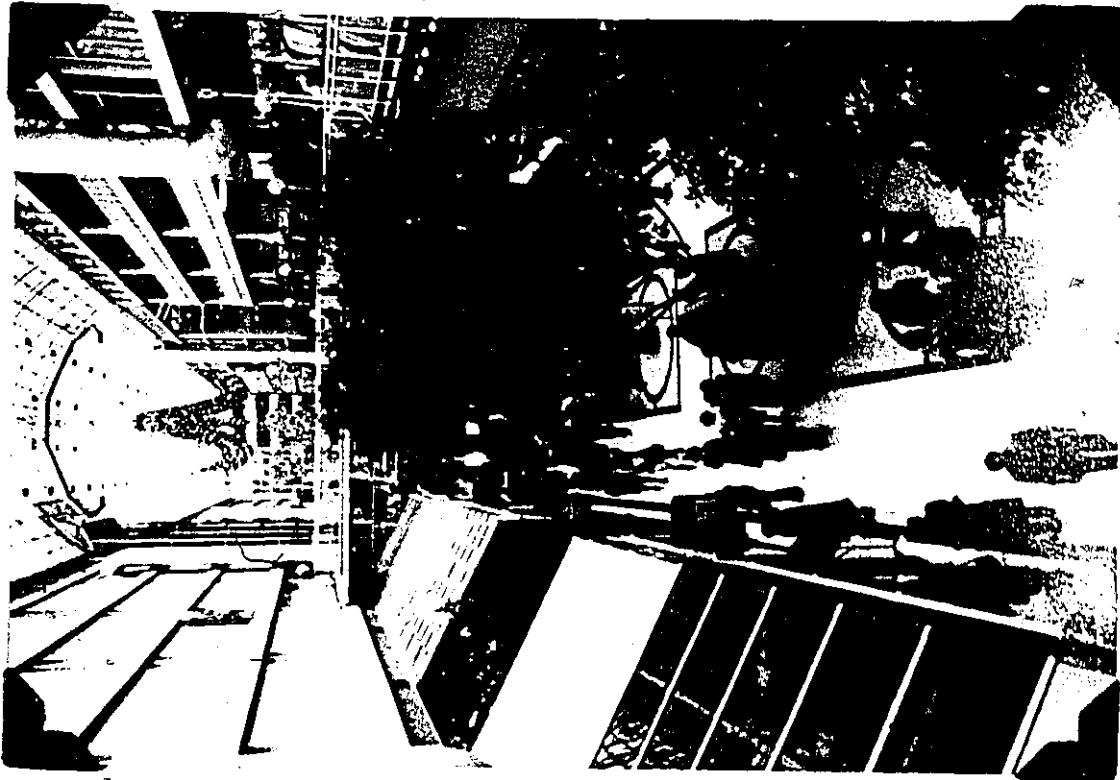
#### 6.7. PHOTOGRAPHS/DATA.

In this section a sample of the photographs/data which were used for analysis is presented. These photographs/data are a representation of the complete body of data and does not constitute all the data collected and analyzed. Adhering to the "process orientation" of this study, the photographs/data are presented session by session. Each section then, contains concepts may be used only in one section, the liansit", "Stopping", "Benches" and "Railings", in that order) taken during that session.

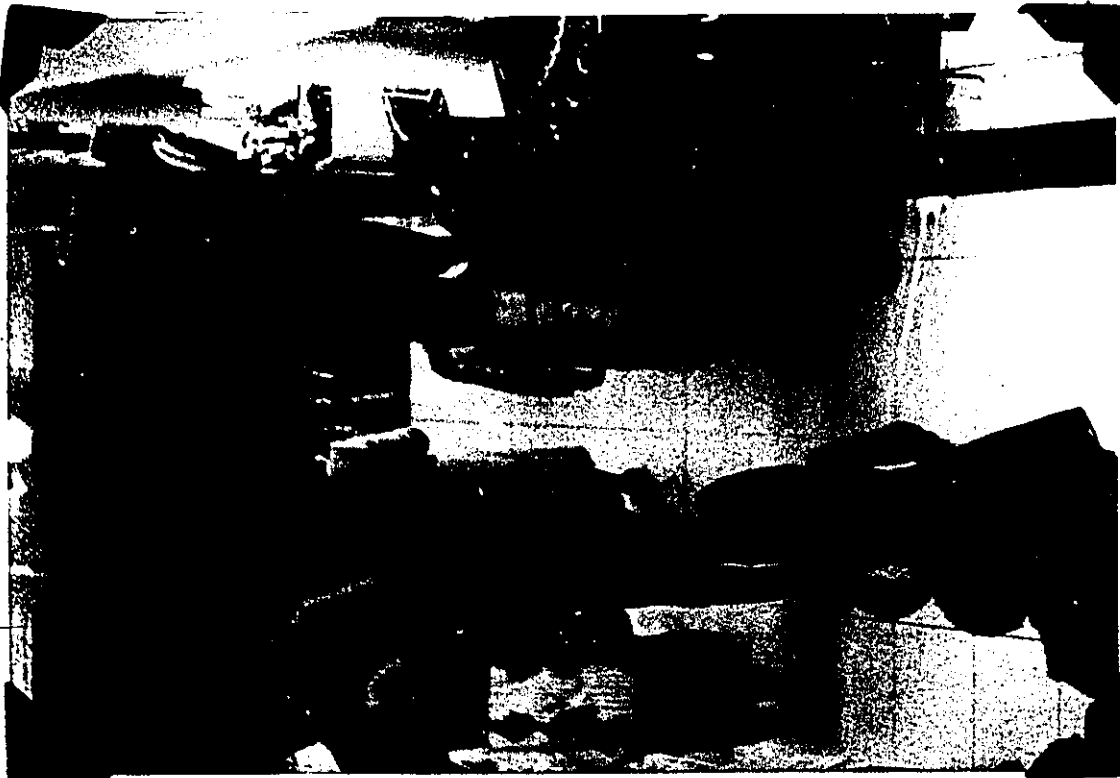
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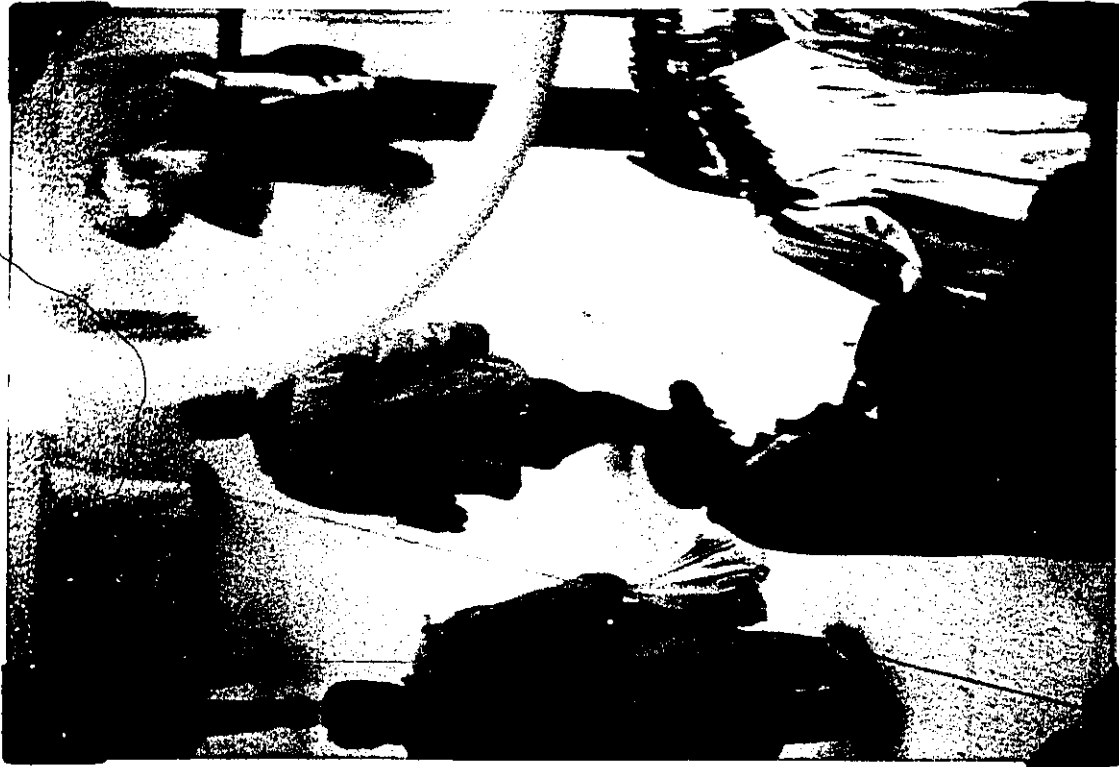
Location: Pedestrian Mall



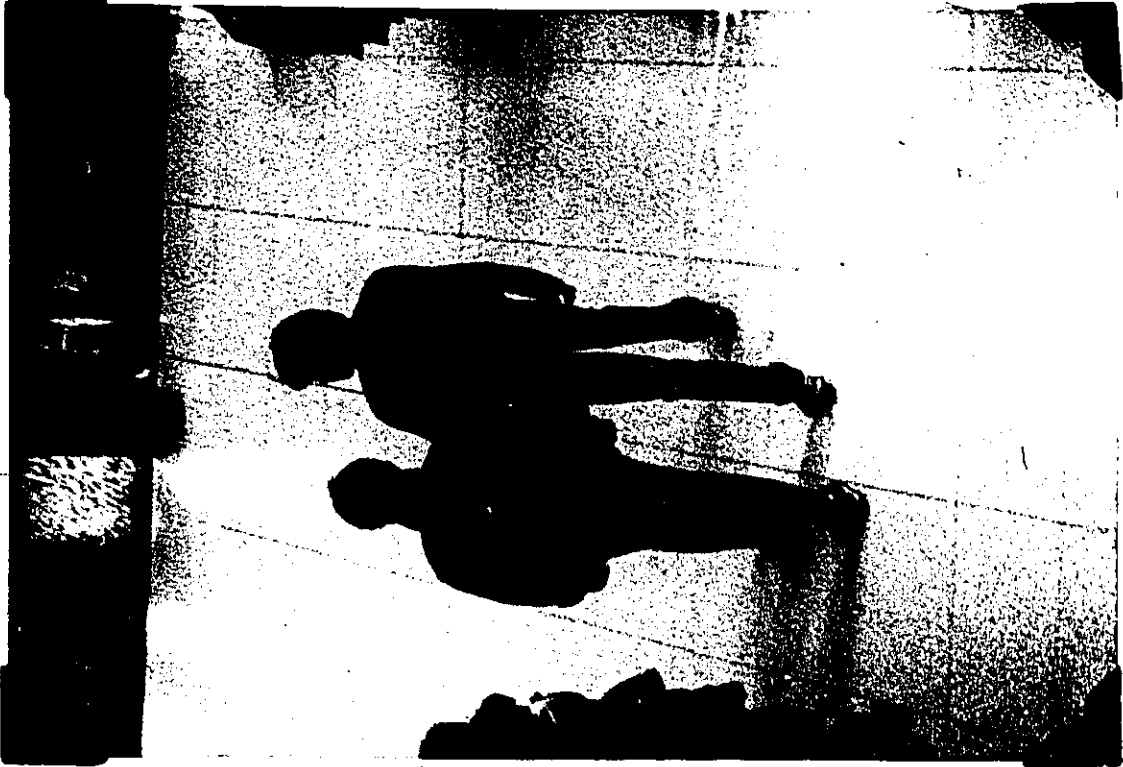
PILOT STUDY (PS): Transit



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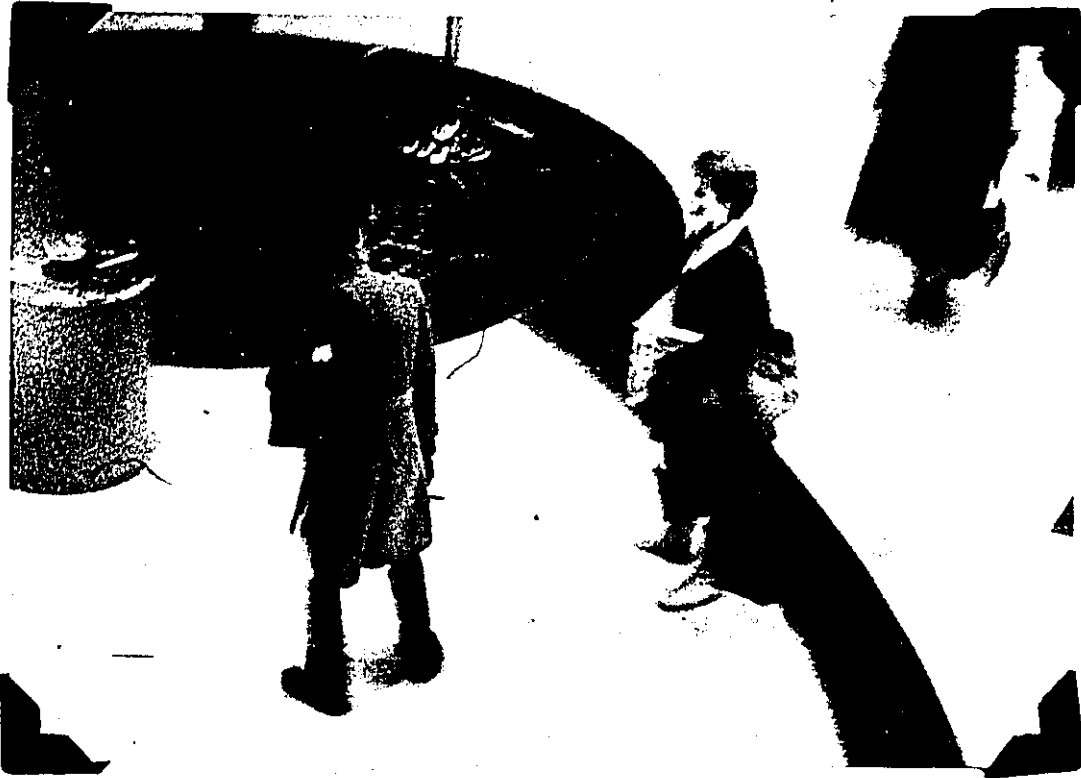


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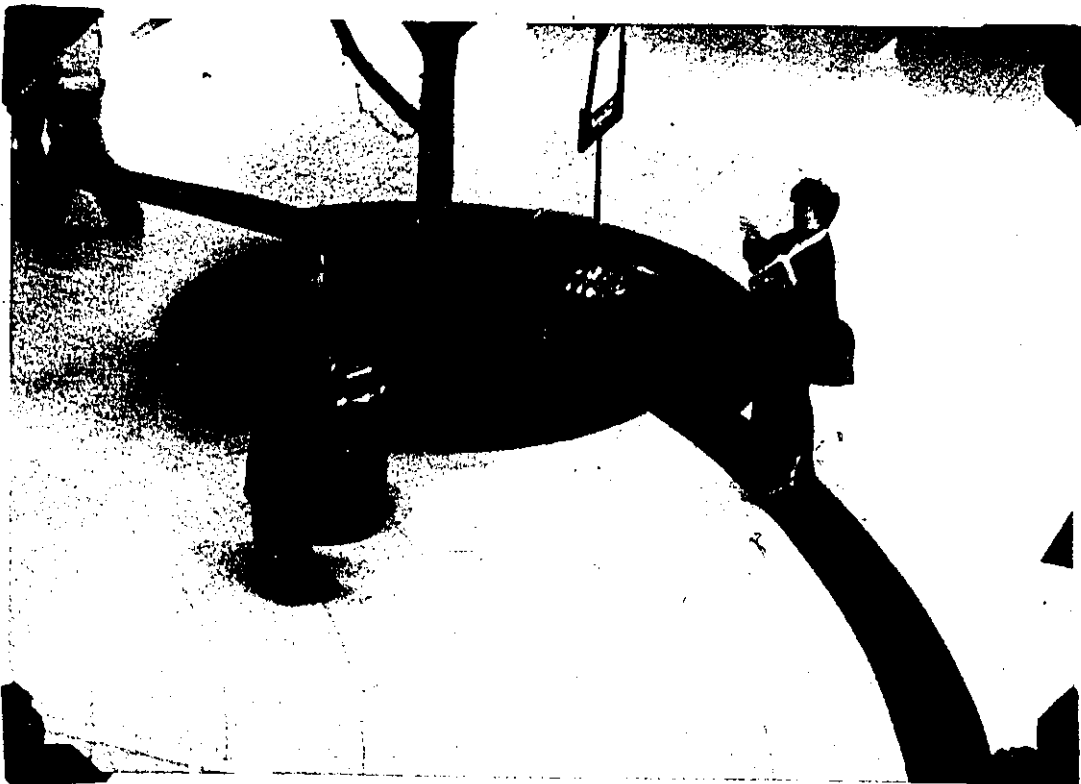
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PS: Stopping



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13



14

PS: Benches



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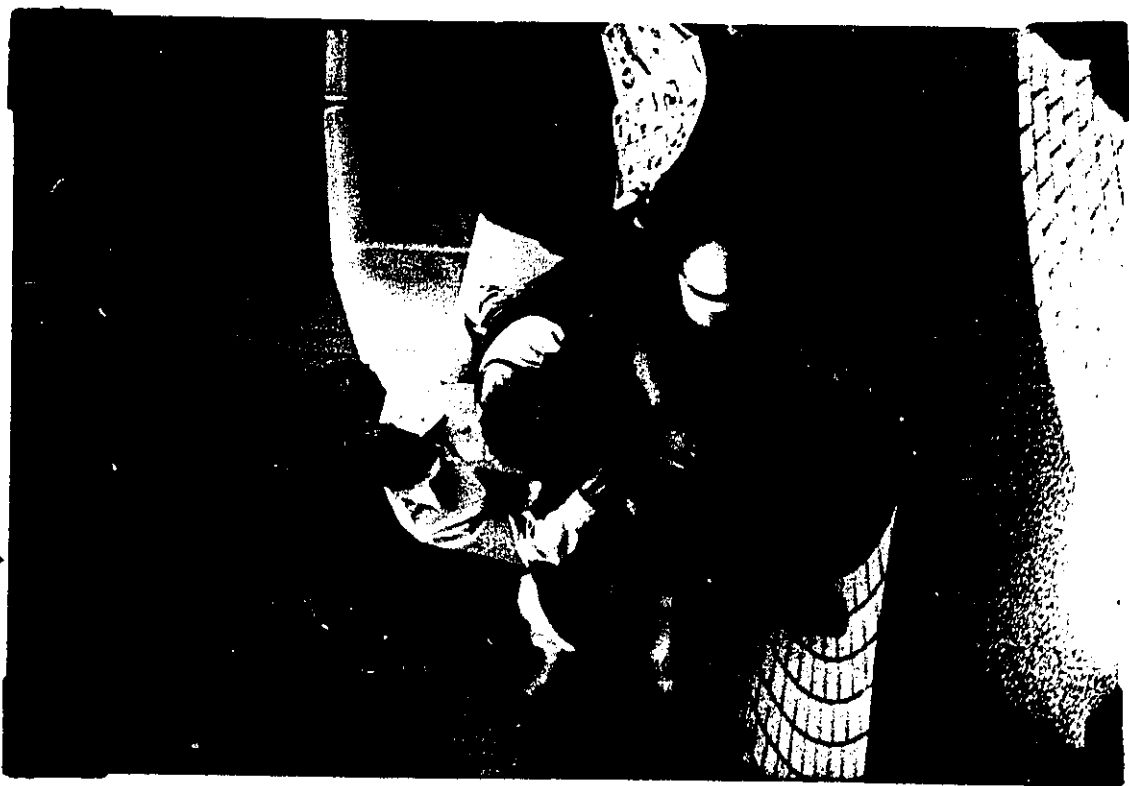
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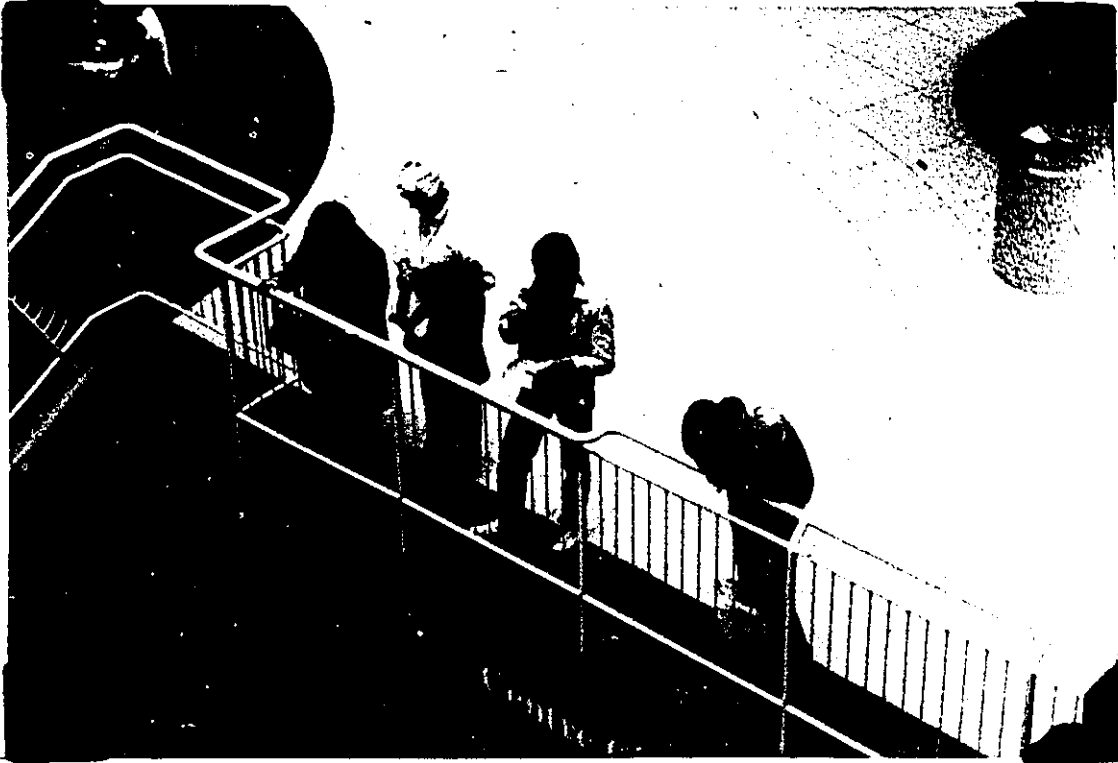


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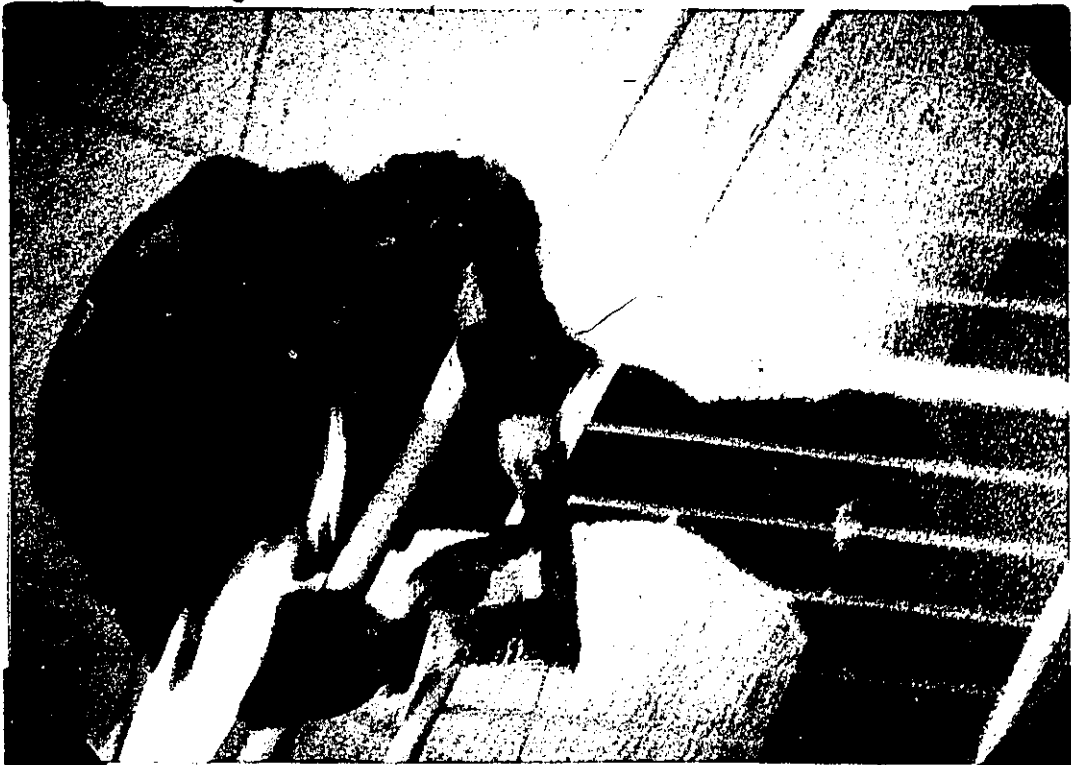
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PS: Railings



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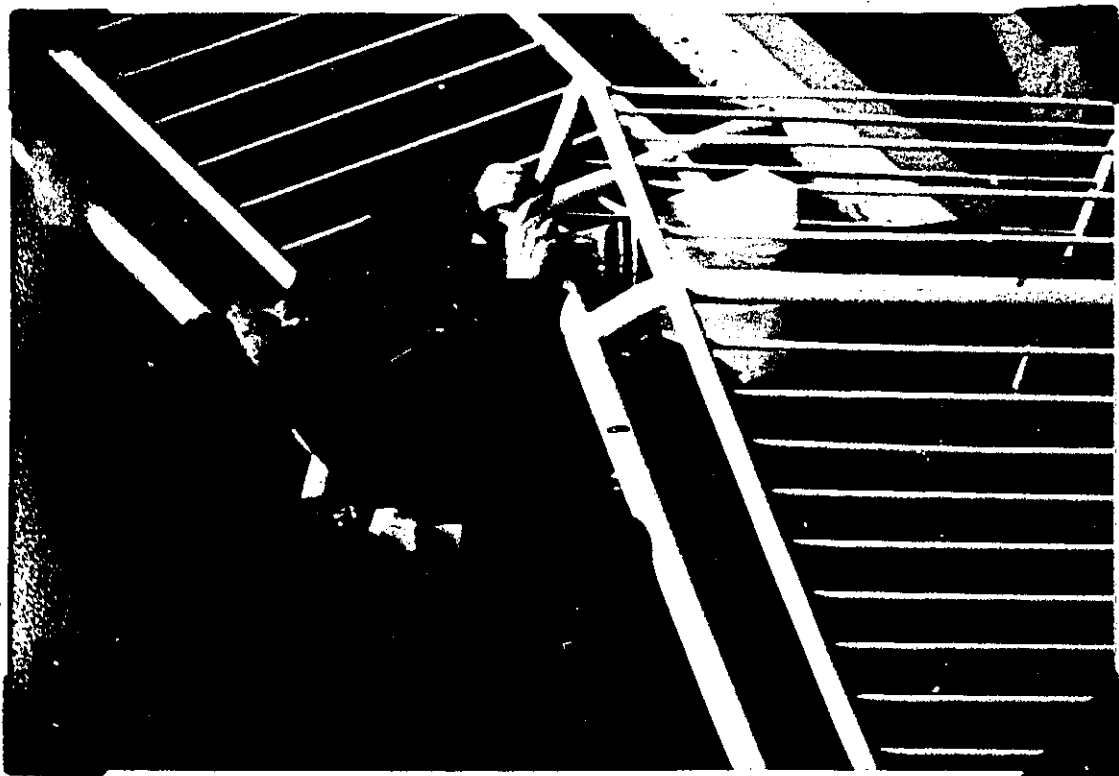
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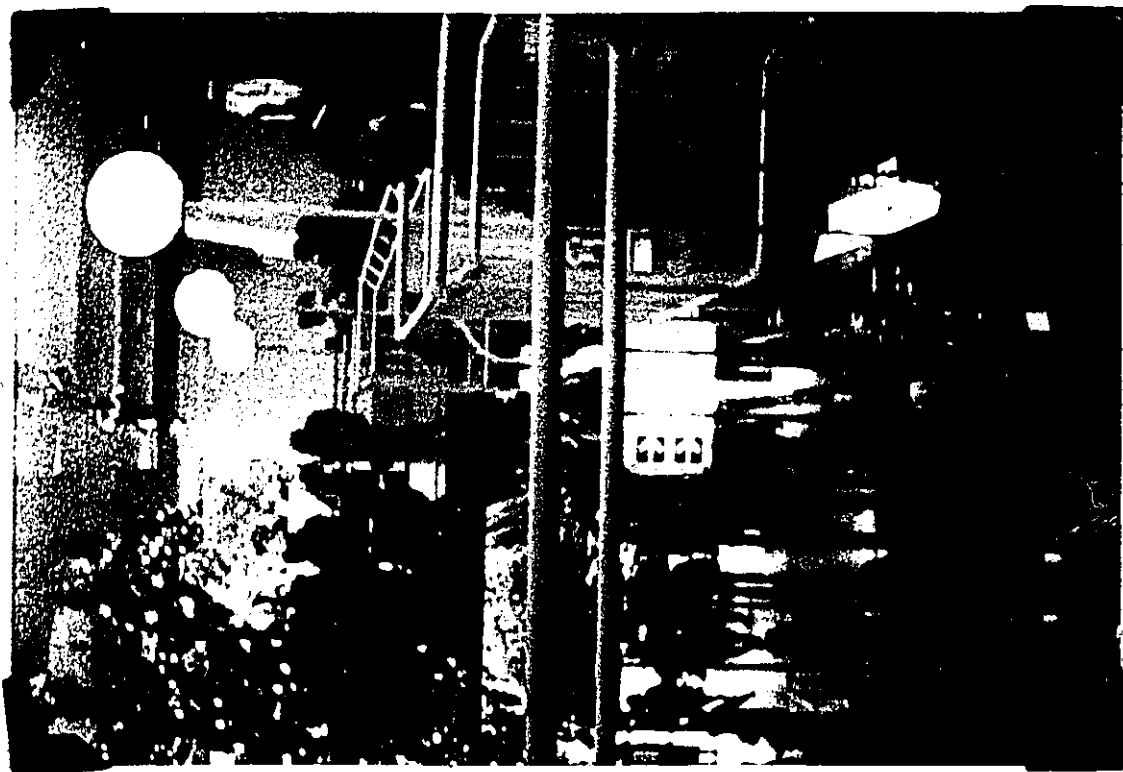


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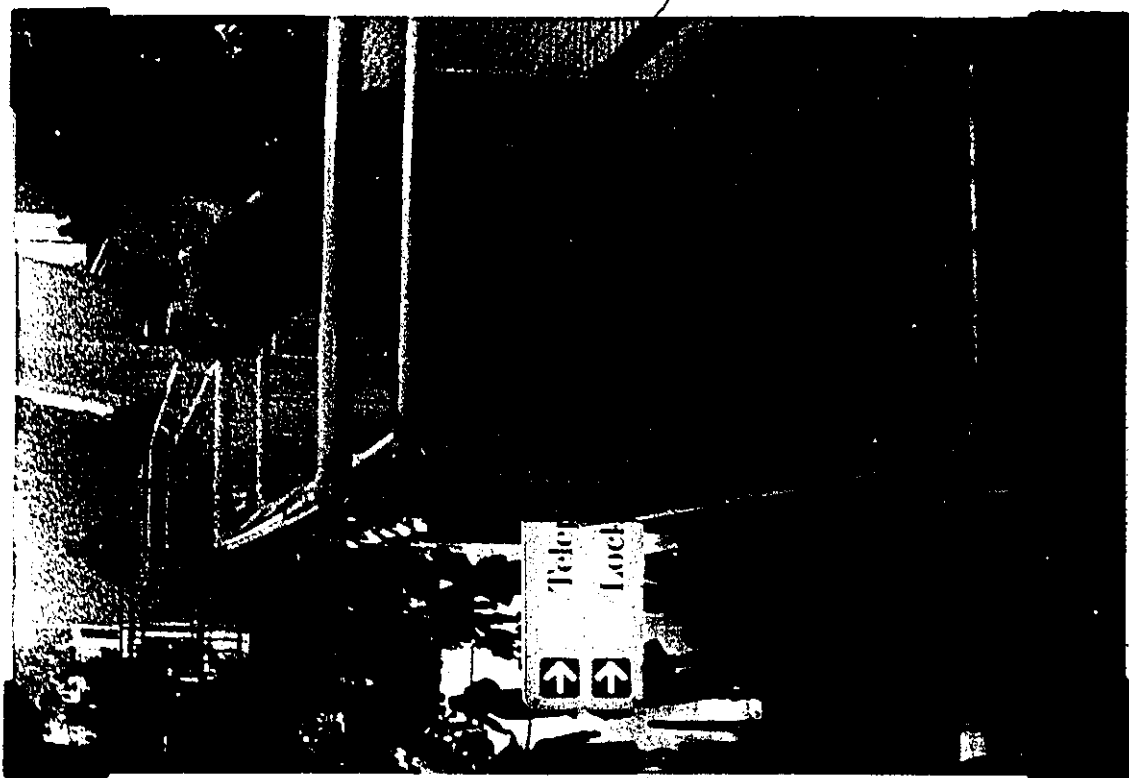


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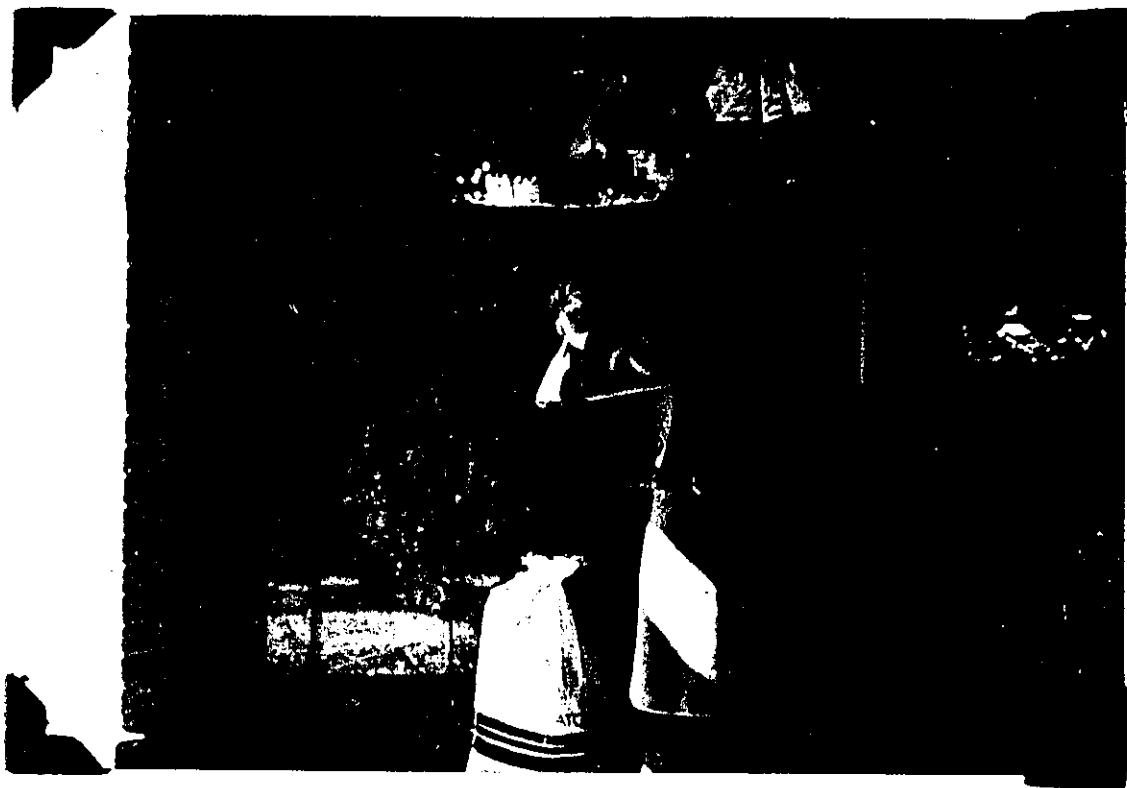
Session 3 : Transit





39

S3: Stopping



40

S3: Benches

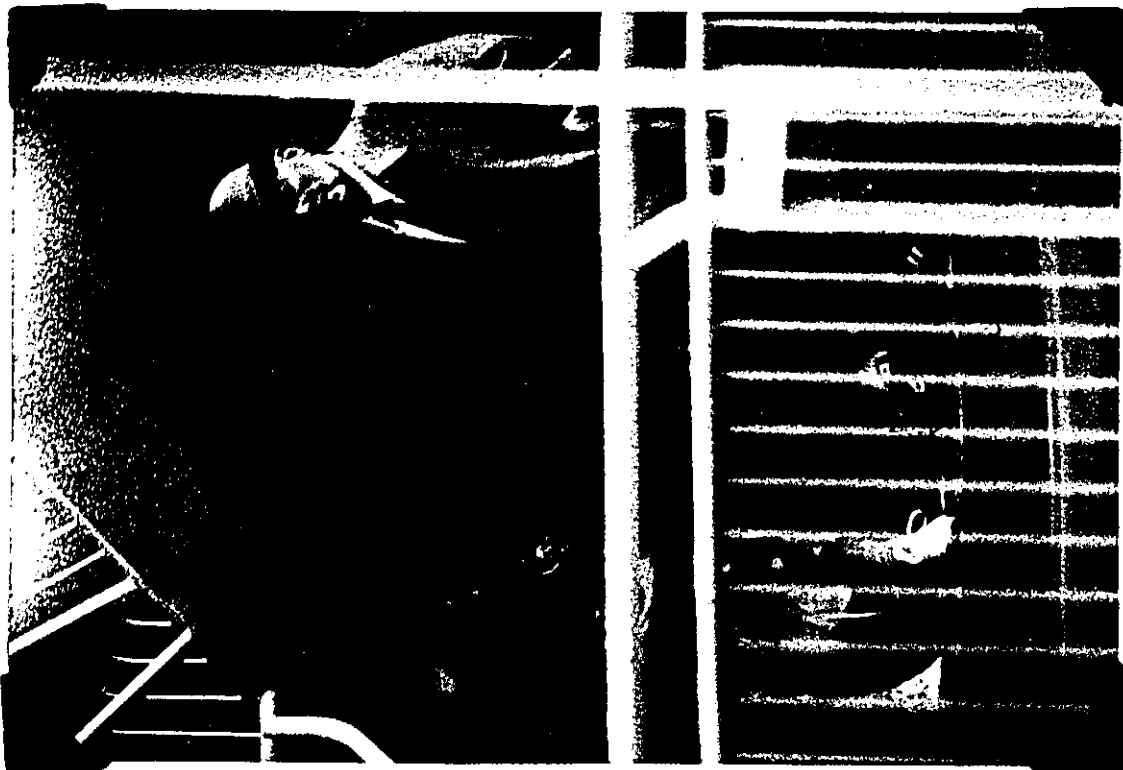


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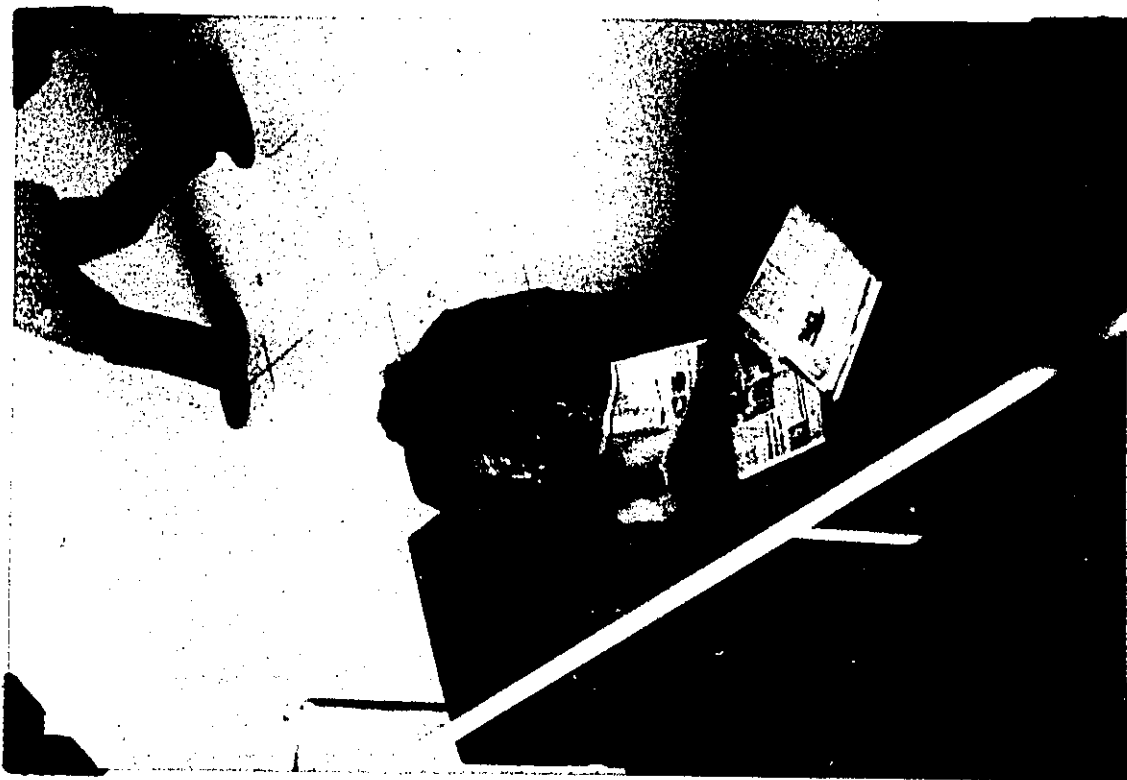


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S3iRailings

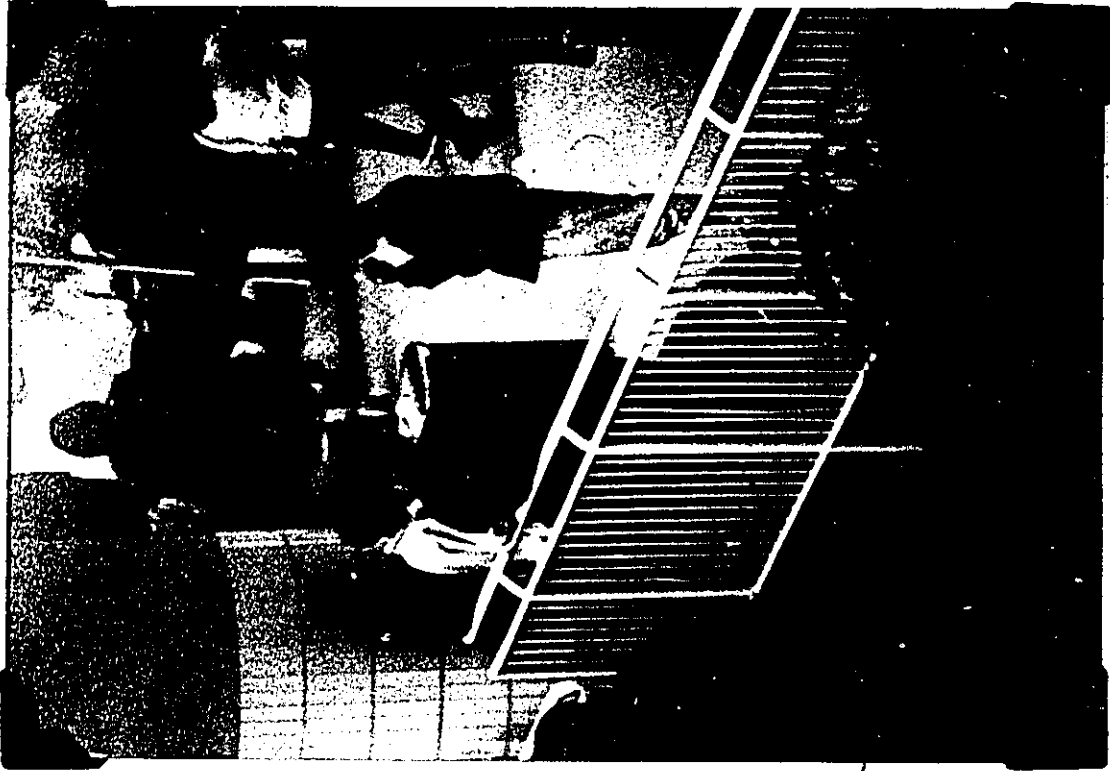


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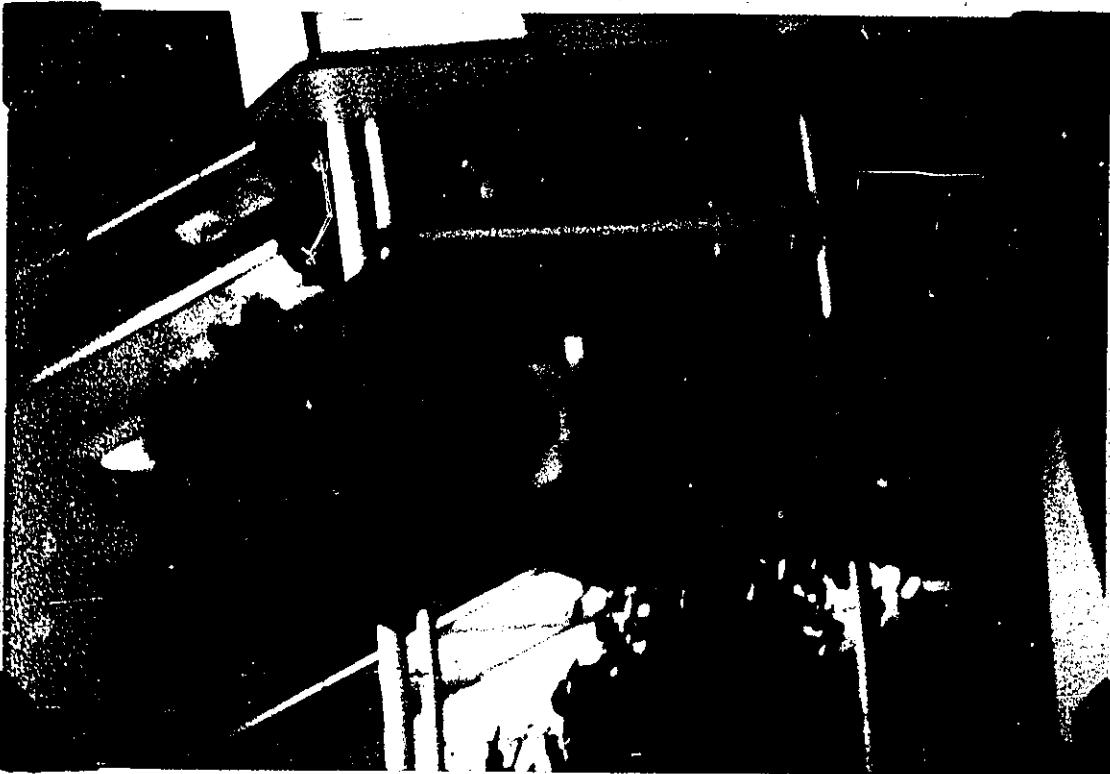


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Session 4 : Transit



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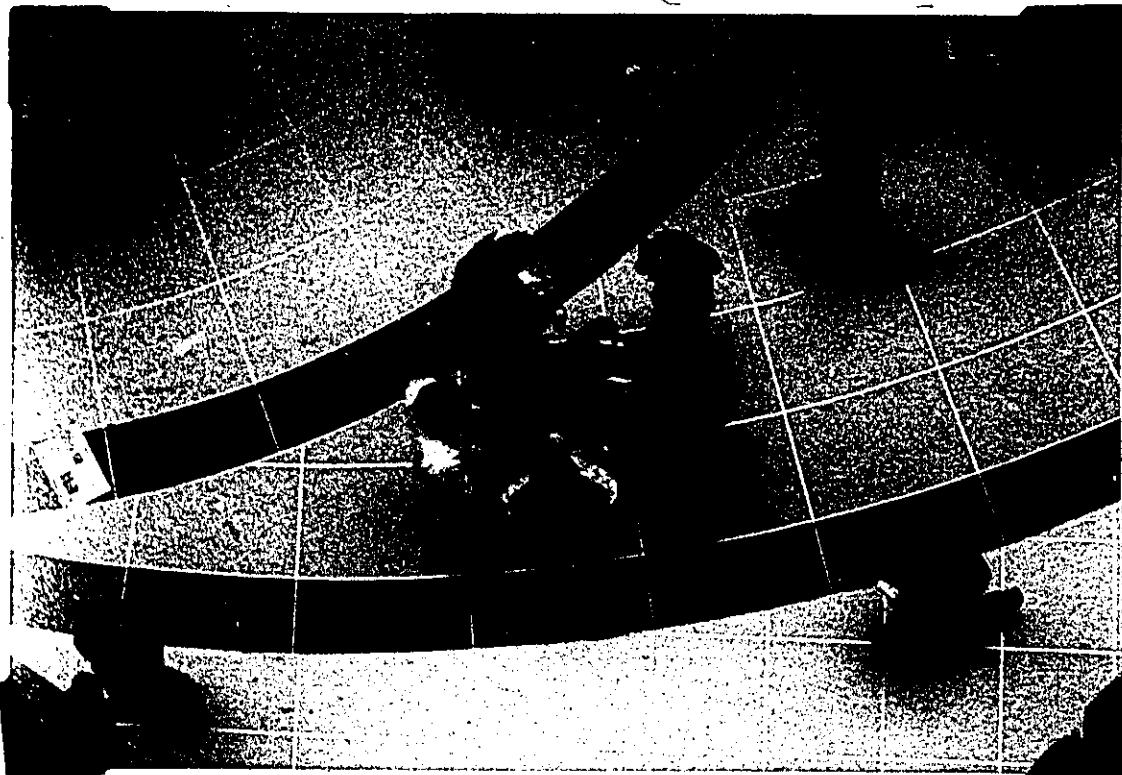
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S4: Stopping



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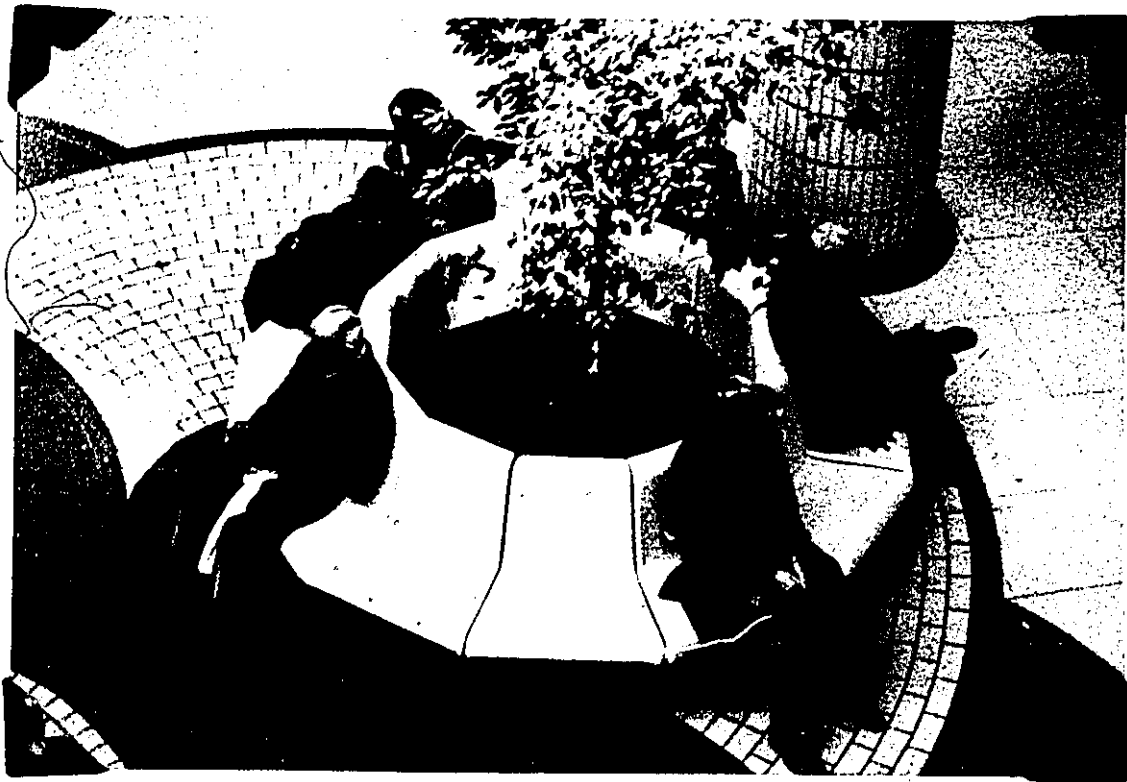




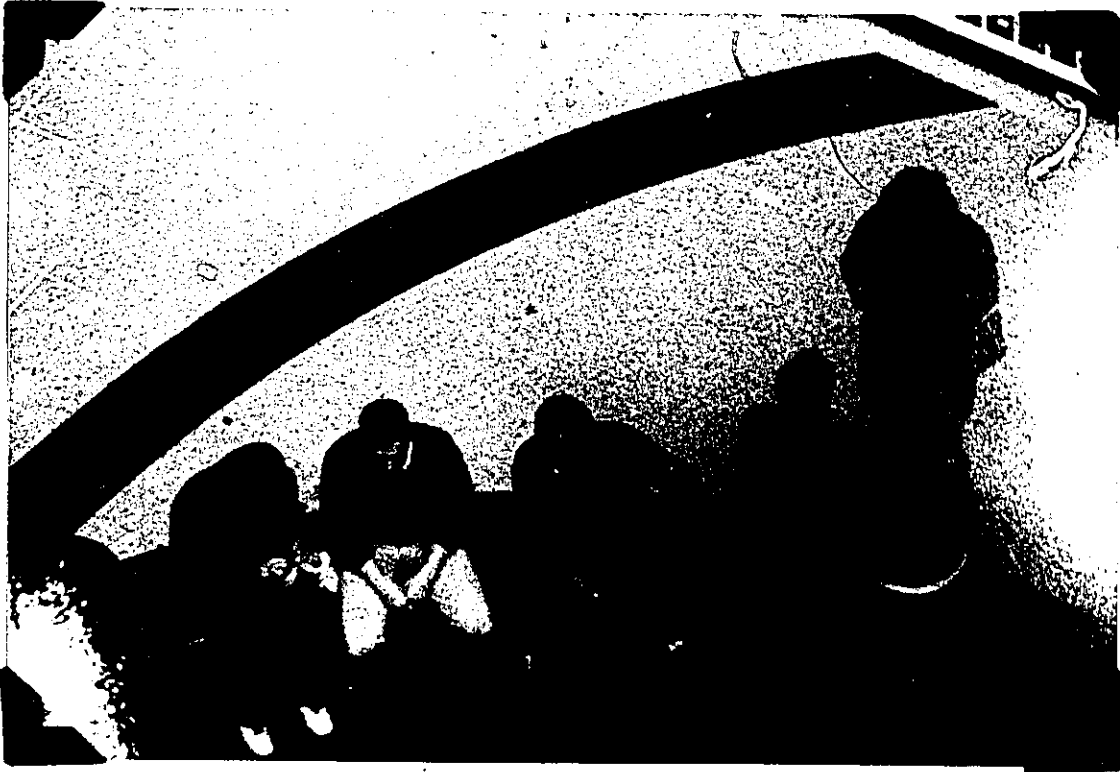
56



S4: Benches



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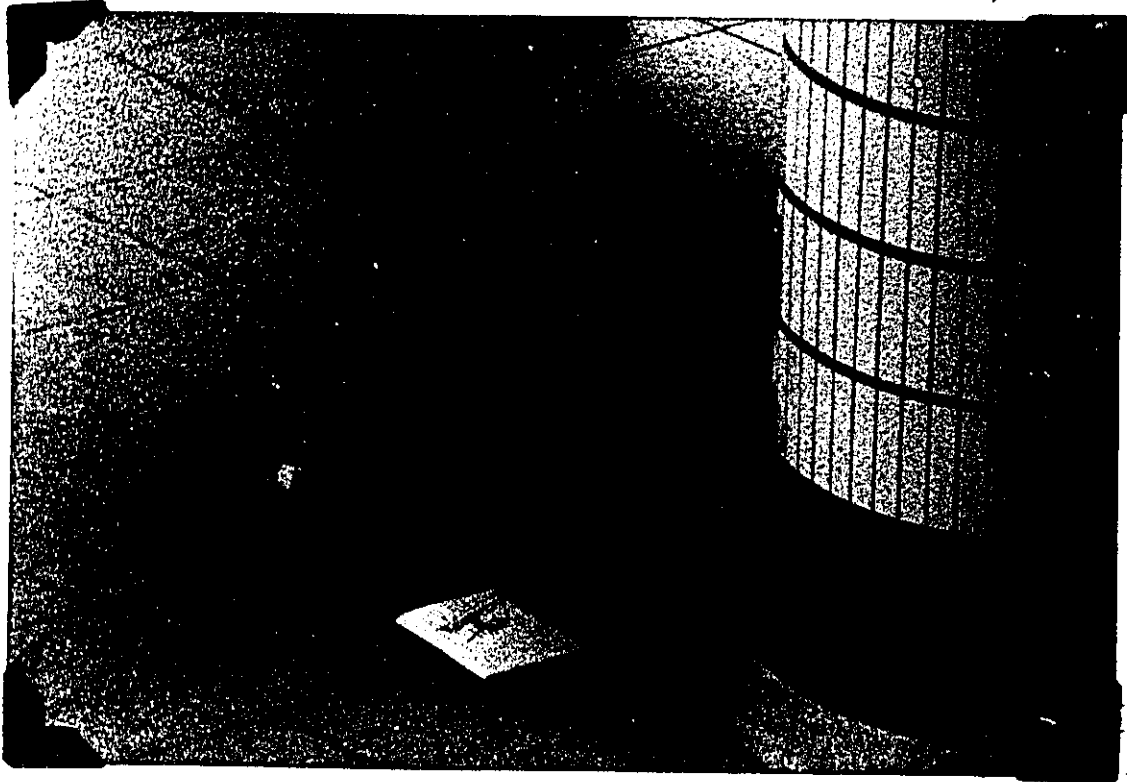


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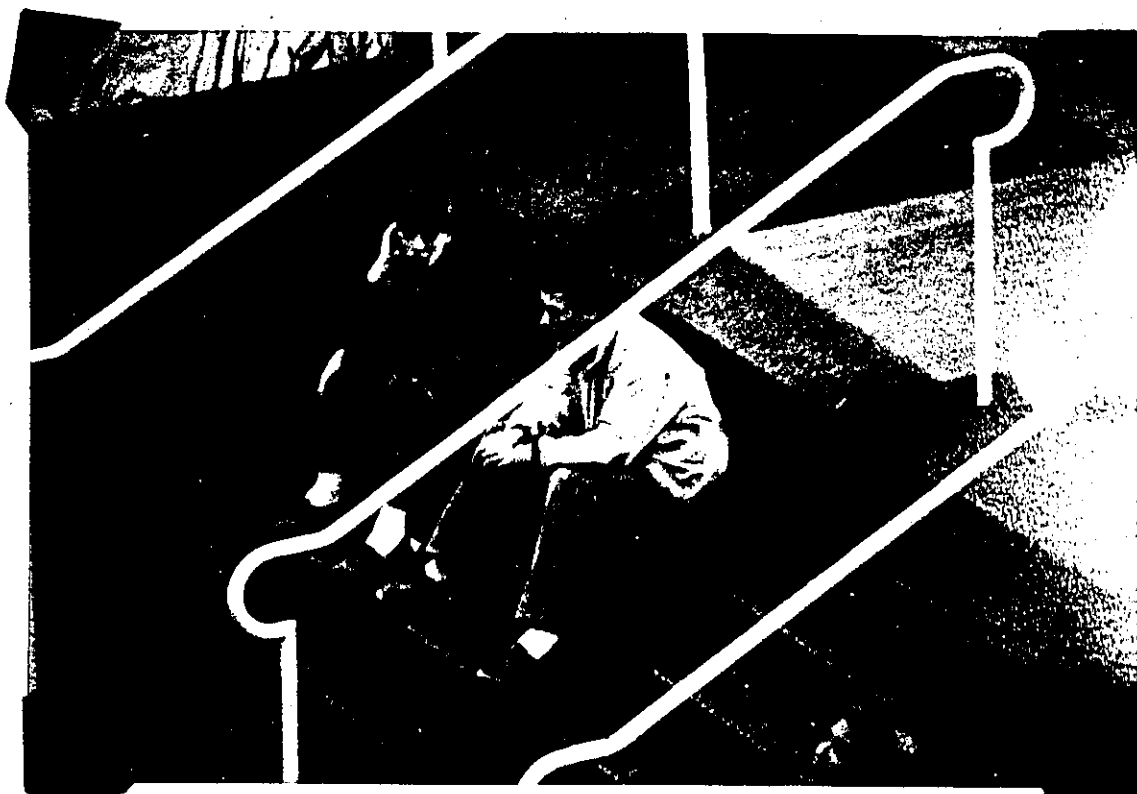
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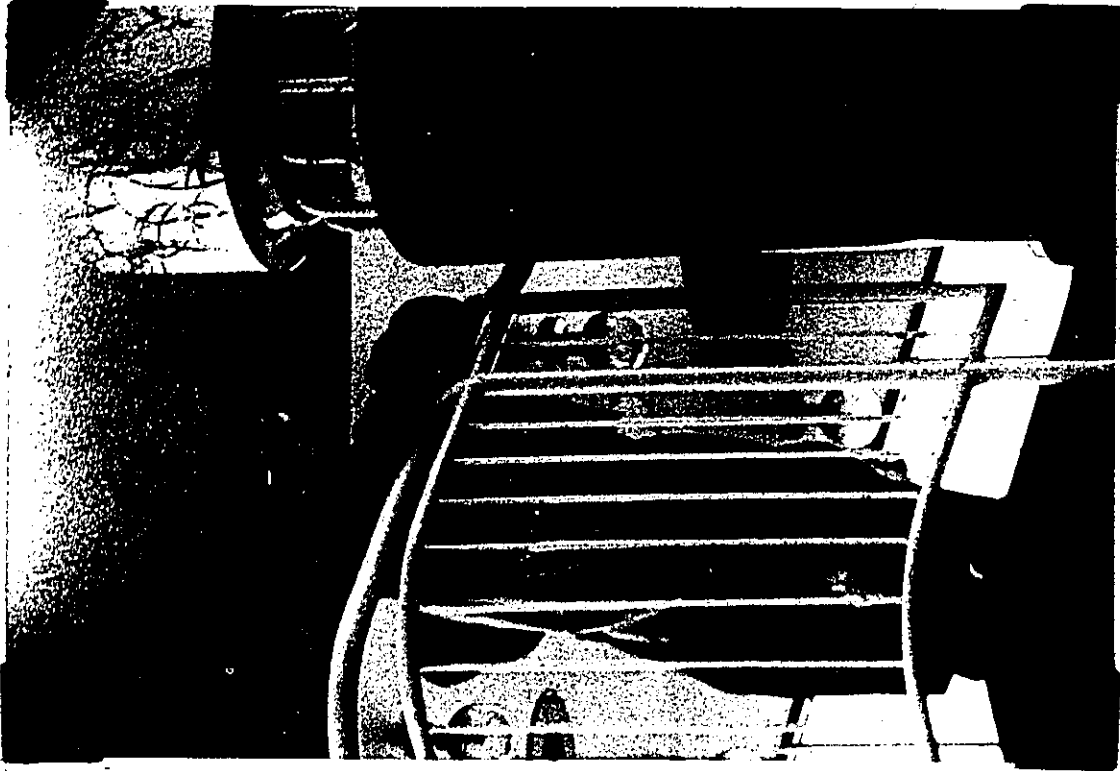


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S4: Railings



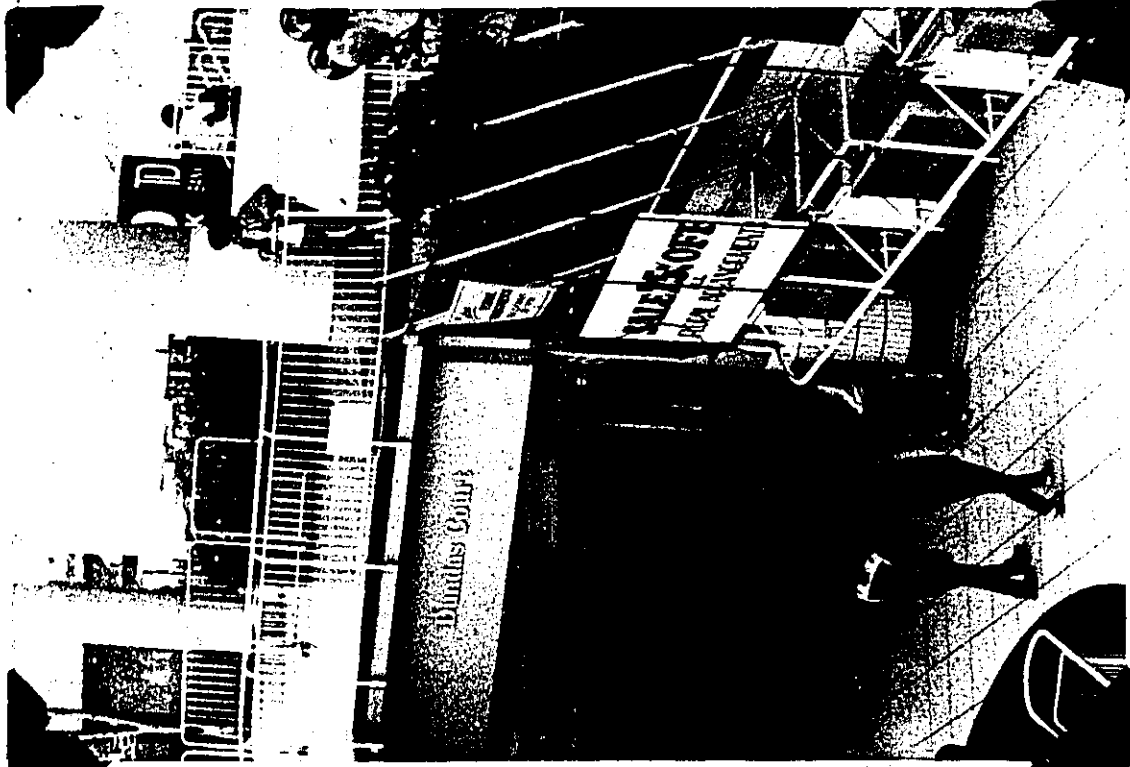
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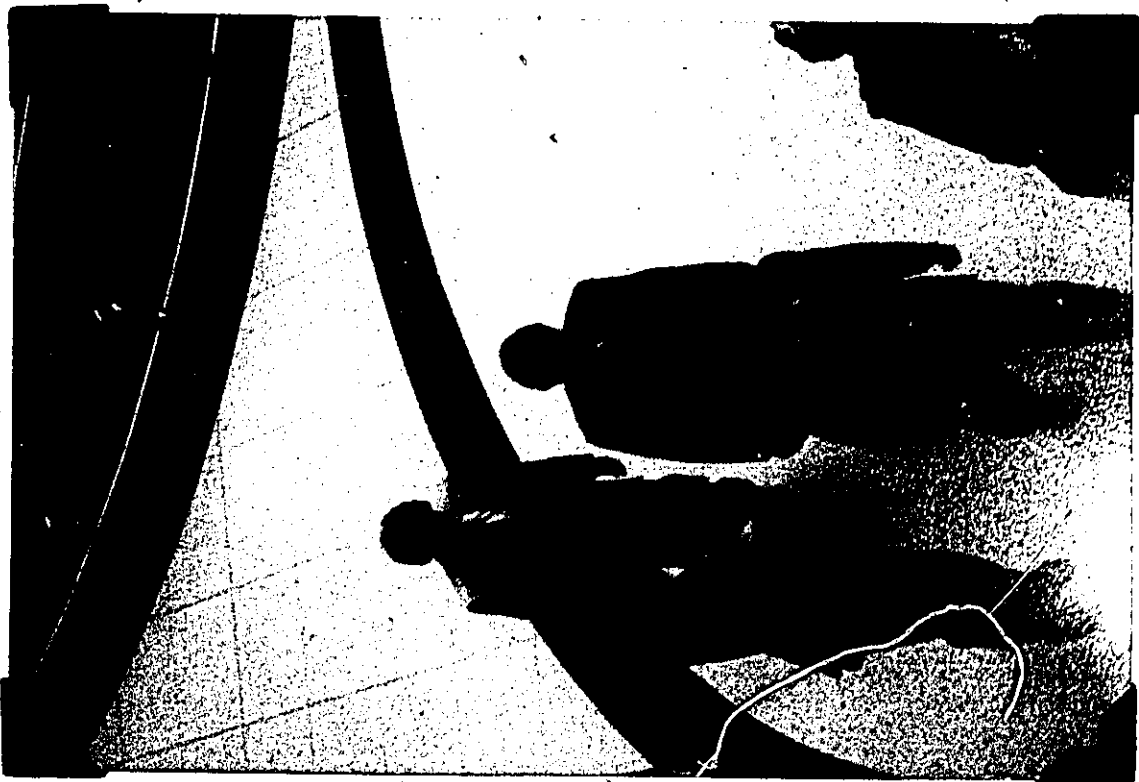
66

Session 5: Transit

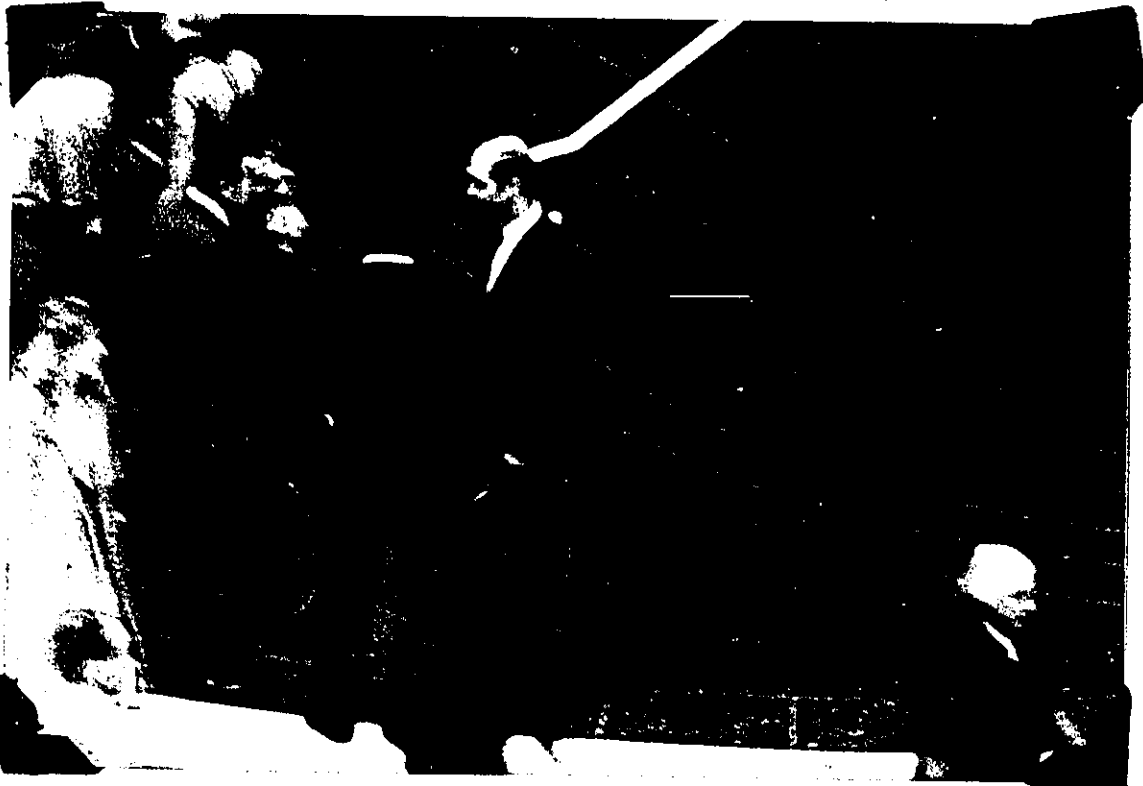
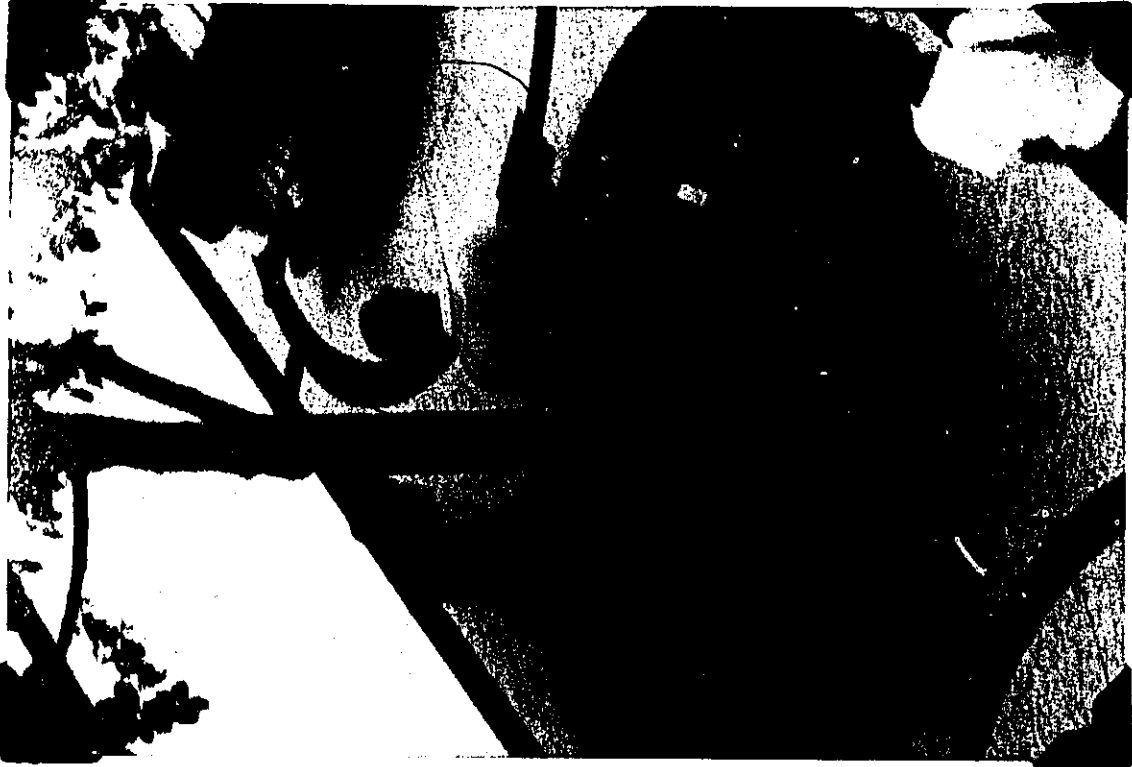


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69







S5: Benches



72

73



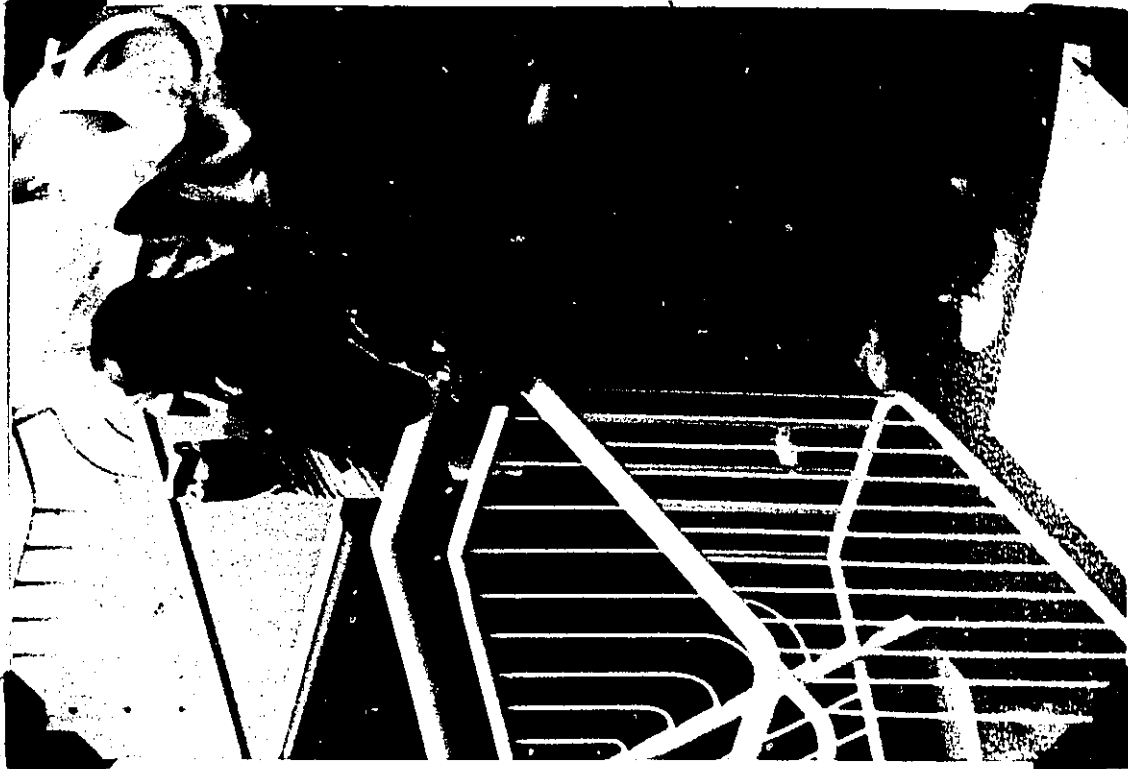
S5: Railings



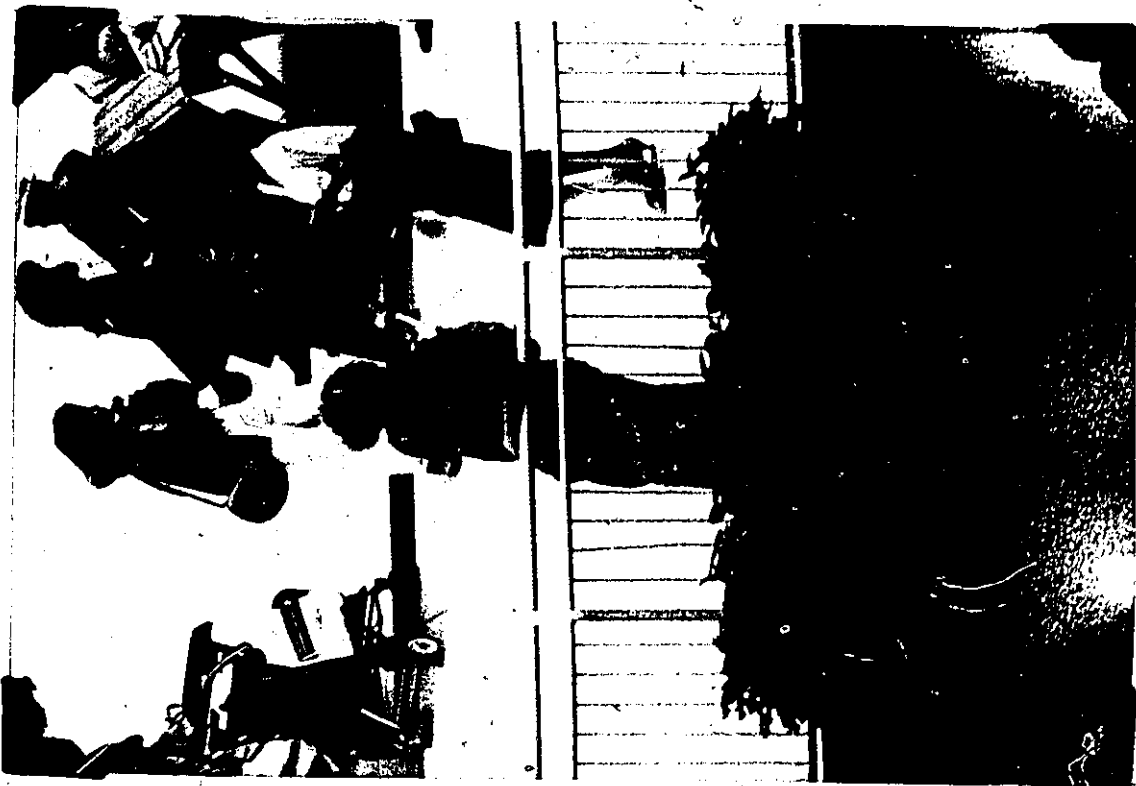
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Session 6: Transit





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S6: Stopping



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S6: Benches



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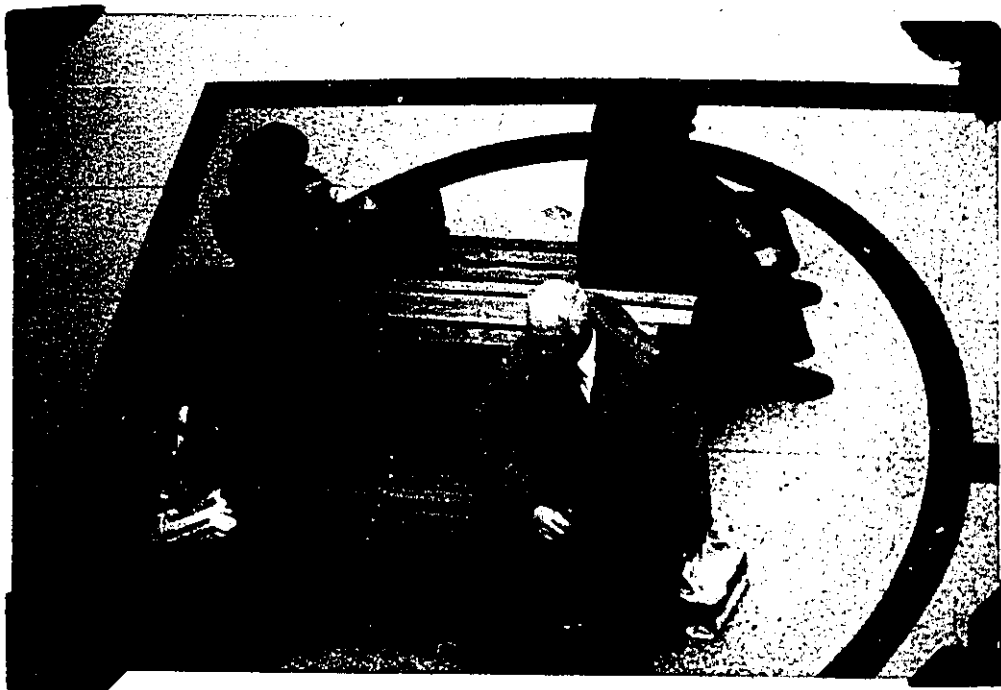
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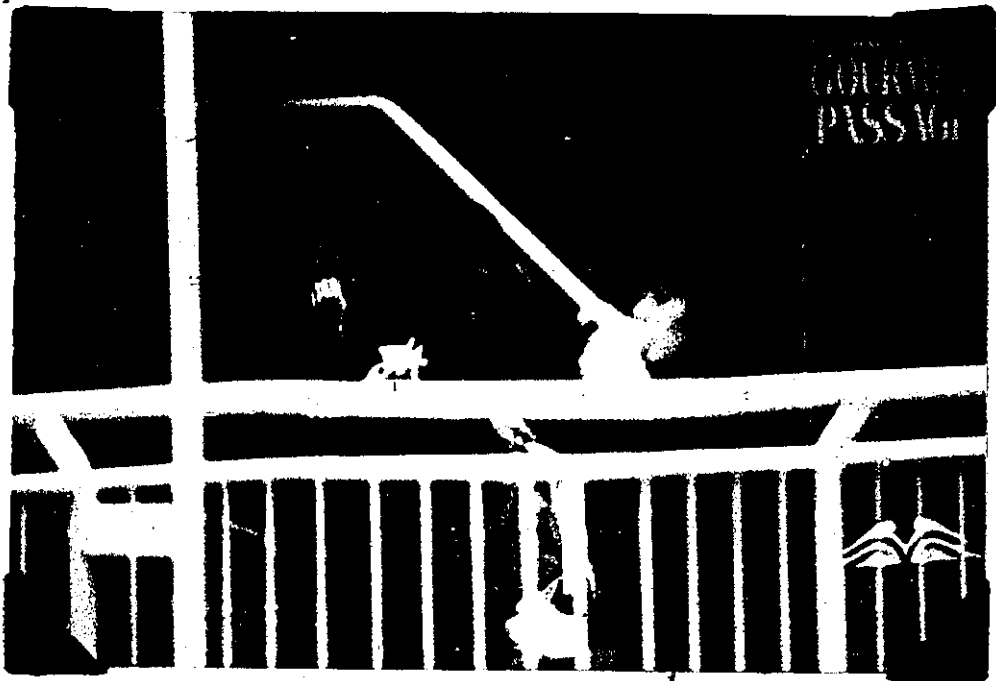
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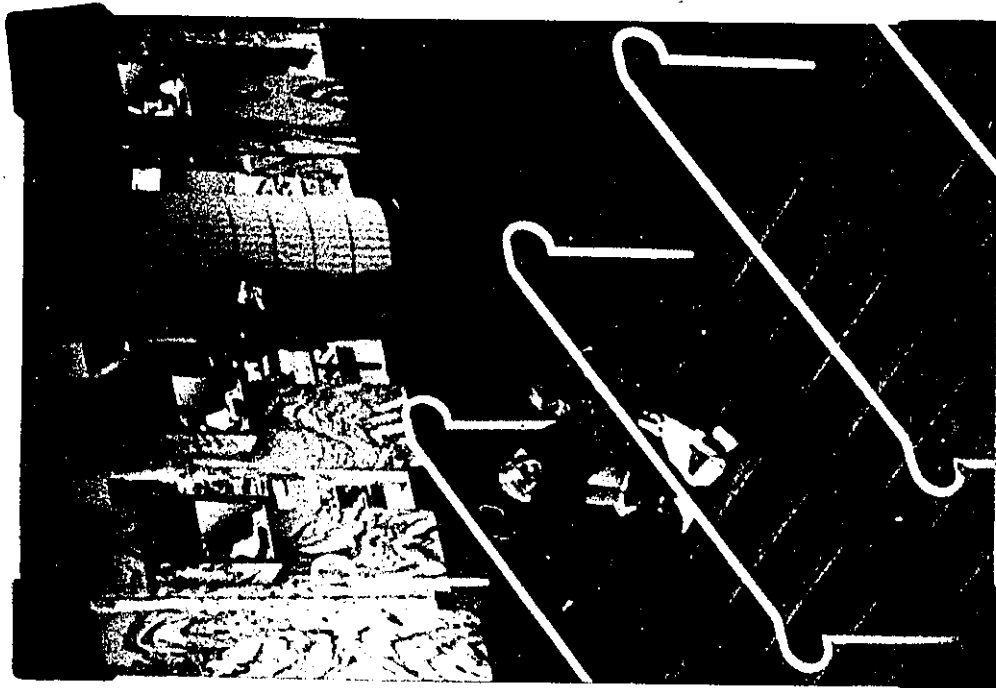
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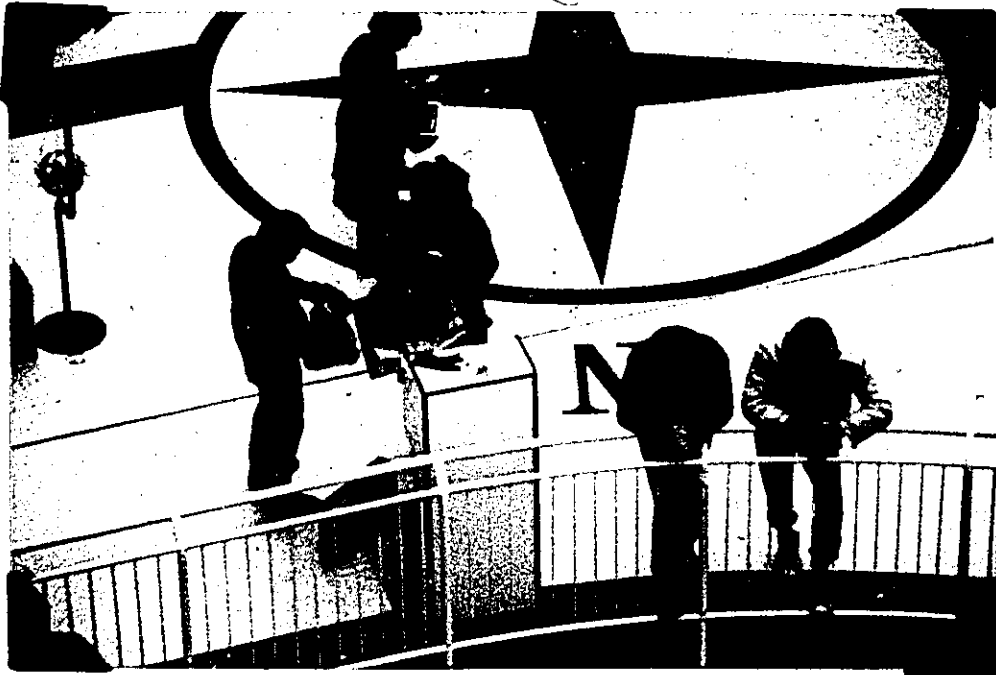


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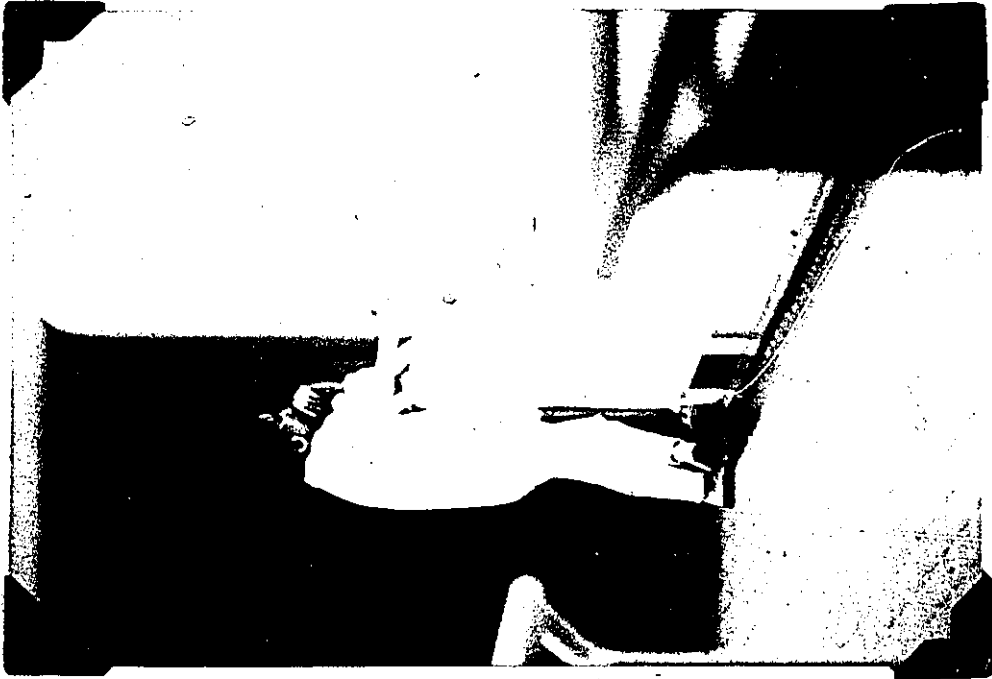
S6: Railings



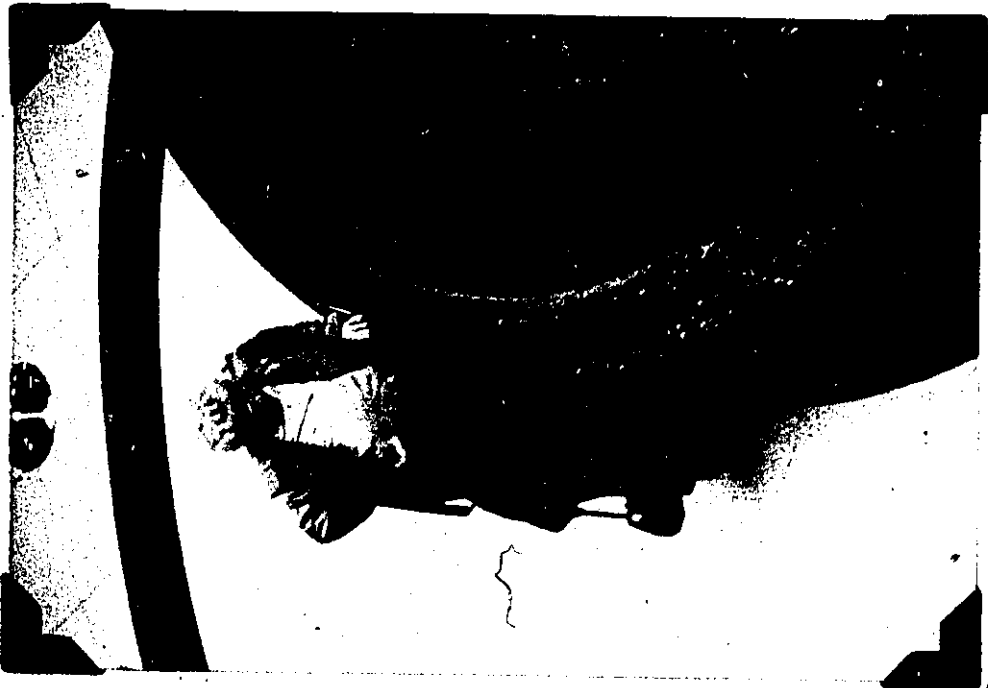
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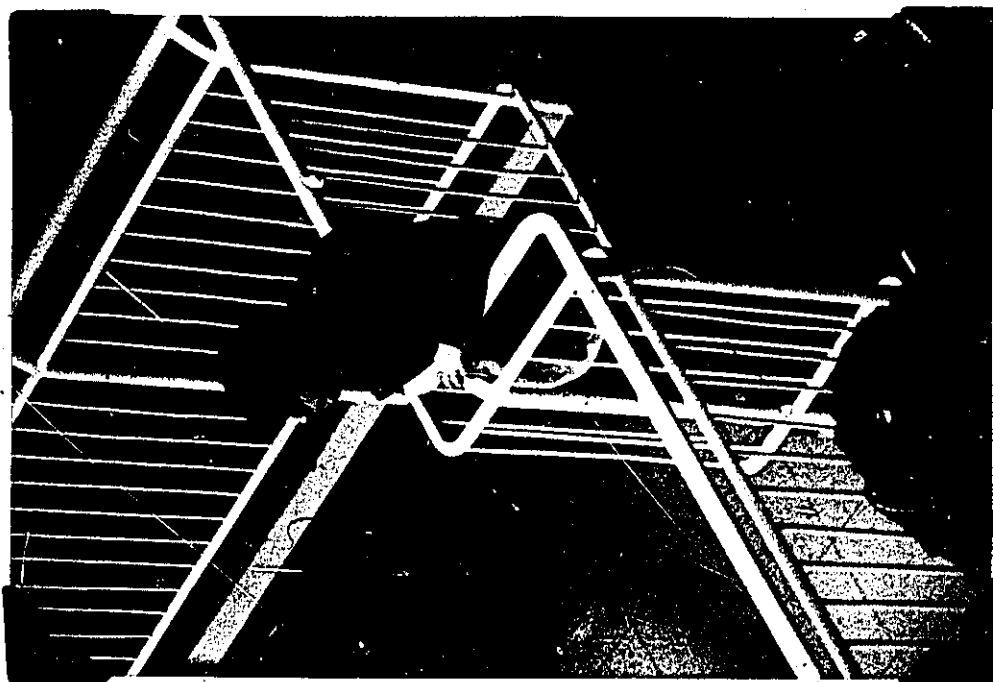
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98



99



theoretical notes on behaviour.

## 7. THEORETICAL NOTES ON PUBLIC BEHAVIOUR

In this chapter the analysis of the data on public behaviour is taken further. Two analytical devices were used, that of the schematic maps presented in section 7.1, and the adapted version of John Lofland's model of social organization in section 7.2. Both these devices lead to the development of the concepts presented in Chapter 5. Though both of these sections do not contain within them the entire analysis of the data, but rather a summarized version of the analysis, the reader is still cautioned regarding the repetitive nature of the material. This repetition demonstrates the emergent character of this study. With each step the concepts are developed and refined. Each stage is dependent on the previous one. Lofland's analysis could not have been completed to the extent it was if the schematic maps did not identify the key linkages between related photographs. Thus, the repetition has a purpose and that is to demonstrate the development of the concepts.

### 7.1. Schematic Maps.

In the following pages three maps are presented: Transit and stopping, benches, and railings. This process developed out of Schatzman and Strauss' (1973) ideas of theoretical notes. To draw key linkages one must be able to examine the data and determine how it relates to other data. Photography is a visual medium and thus the data has to be presented in a visible manner. Though notes were made on each photograph, the photograph itself

schematic maps.

remained the original source of information. Thus, key linkages are made between related photographs, depending on the components of that data which are made explicit by the corresponding notes.

Only an elementary form of the schematic maps is presented, and in reading these pages, the reader may find them somewhat cryptic. In a sense they are. Key words are used to denote the various relationships, and these words have implications which this researcher may not have made entirely explicit. Thus, after each map, there are a set of notes detailing the key linkages of that particular map. A further point; the notes presented are exactly that: notes.


Each schematic map represents one of the behavioural categories which emerged in the course of this research and analysis, though the categories of Transit and Stopping are presented in the context of one schematic map because of their close relationship. Organizing these maps along categorical lines, rather than session by session, does not negate the process-orientation of this study. Each schematic map is divided into the sessions and thus maintains the process orientation. Thus, linkages between photographs/data in the same session are indicated by vertical lines, and linkages between photographs/data from session to session - process orientation - are indicated by horizontal lines. A legend is provided prior to the first schematic map.

schematic maps.

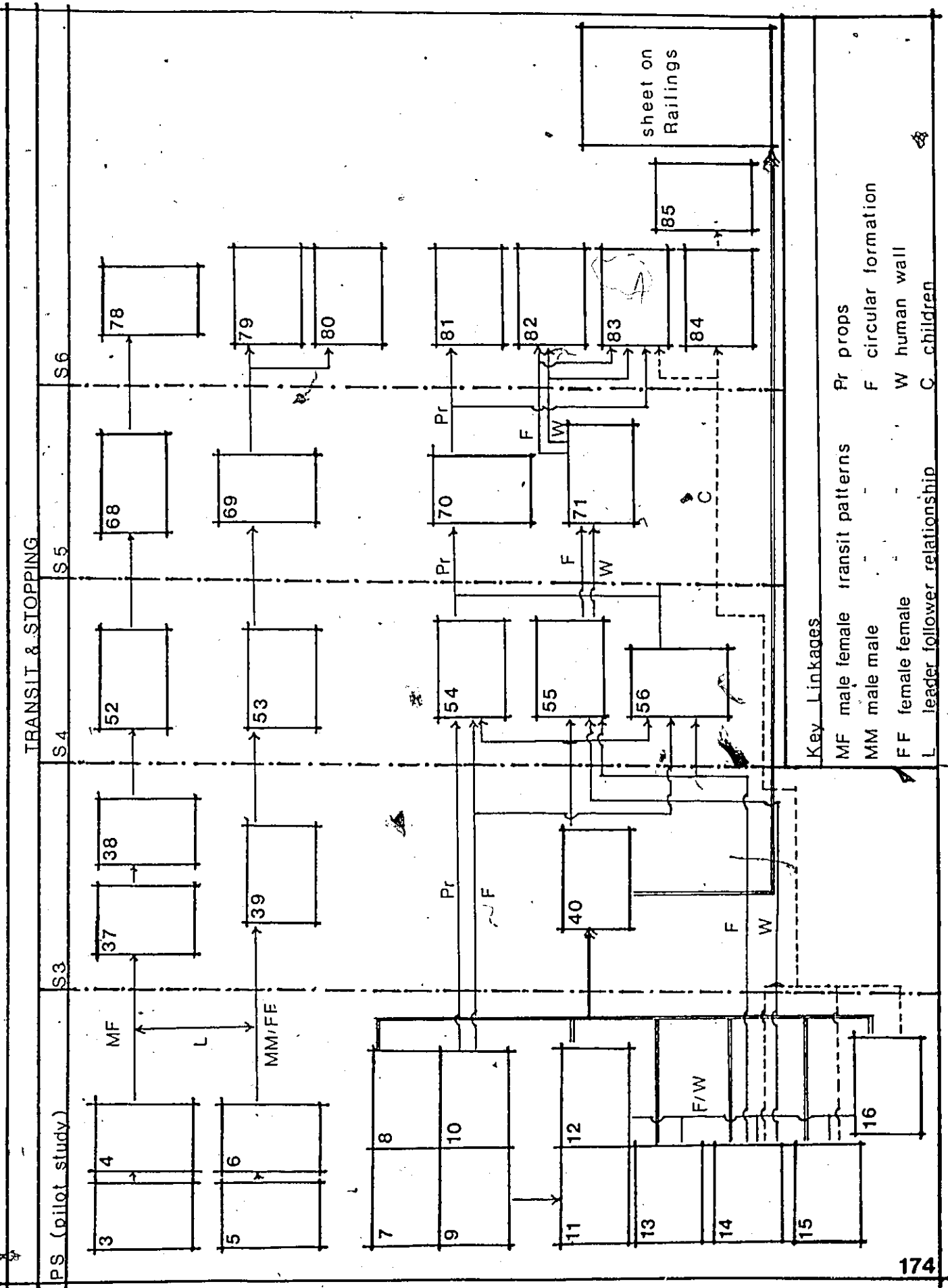
#### LEGEND

Categorical Links. 

Conceptual Links. 

Conceptual linkages  
with a departure from  
the established pattern. 

Bridge. 



schematic maps.

A) Notes on Transit and Stopping.

1) Dominant role of **leader/director** performed by male. Typical characteristics include: the male walking in front of the female to some degree, the male's hand being in front of the female's when the couple is holding hands, or when the male's arm being around the female's body or shoulders. or when the male's arm locks the female's; the male's **focus of attention** is more concerned with the direction the couple is going than is the female's (it can not be said that the male determines where to go but rather, how to get there).

2) **Leader/director** role performed by an individual who walks in front - seen predominantly in groups of males. Female groups show a more equal distribution of leadership in that no one individual can be said to be a leader by the transit pattern they use.

3) Photograph 40 was instrumental in redefining the categories of parting and gatherings as being part of stopping while in transit. **Stopping** is defined as a temporary stationary position prior to the continuation of transit activity.

4) **Definition of space** may utilize one or more, or all of the following:

a) **Props** can either be stationary and fixed objects found at the setting and in the location, or they may be movable objects brought to the setting. Four commonly used **props** are: trees found in the location, the physical structure of walls, strollers which are brought to the setting, and reading material which is also

schematic maps.

brought to the setting and facilitates **occupation**. (These **props** can also be seen in the other two categories of Benches and Railings).

b) Using one's back as a **Wall** against the goings on around an individual(s) isolates him/her from others. When more than one individual is part of a situation then the wall is expanded, molded and constructed for their needs. **Props** can be used to supplement this wall and in many cases this wall defines the circular formation of individuals gathering. This notion of a human wall can also be seen in the categories of benches and railings.

c) Circular Formations are seen when more than two individuals gather together. Beginnings of this formation can be detected in dyads who have stopped their movement. This formation shows the individuals of the gathering forming a circle-like shape, their backs turned outward, thus constructing a wall and their **focus of attention** directed inward to the centre of the group or circular formation. This formation can also be seen and detected in the category of benches, as well as that of railings.

5) In the initial category of Gatherings, a tertiary category of Family was identified. This sub-category resurfaced in sessions 4 and 6. Though the composition of the subjects is characteristically distinct because of the mix of age groups, the circular formation is still adhered to. However, it can be said that due to the composition of the subjects, more **props** are

schematic maps.

utilized. This aspect is seen in all photographs cited as well as in the category of benches.

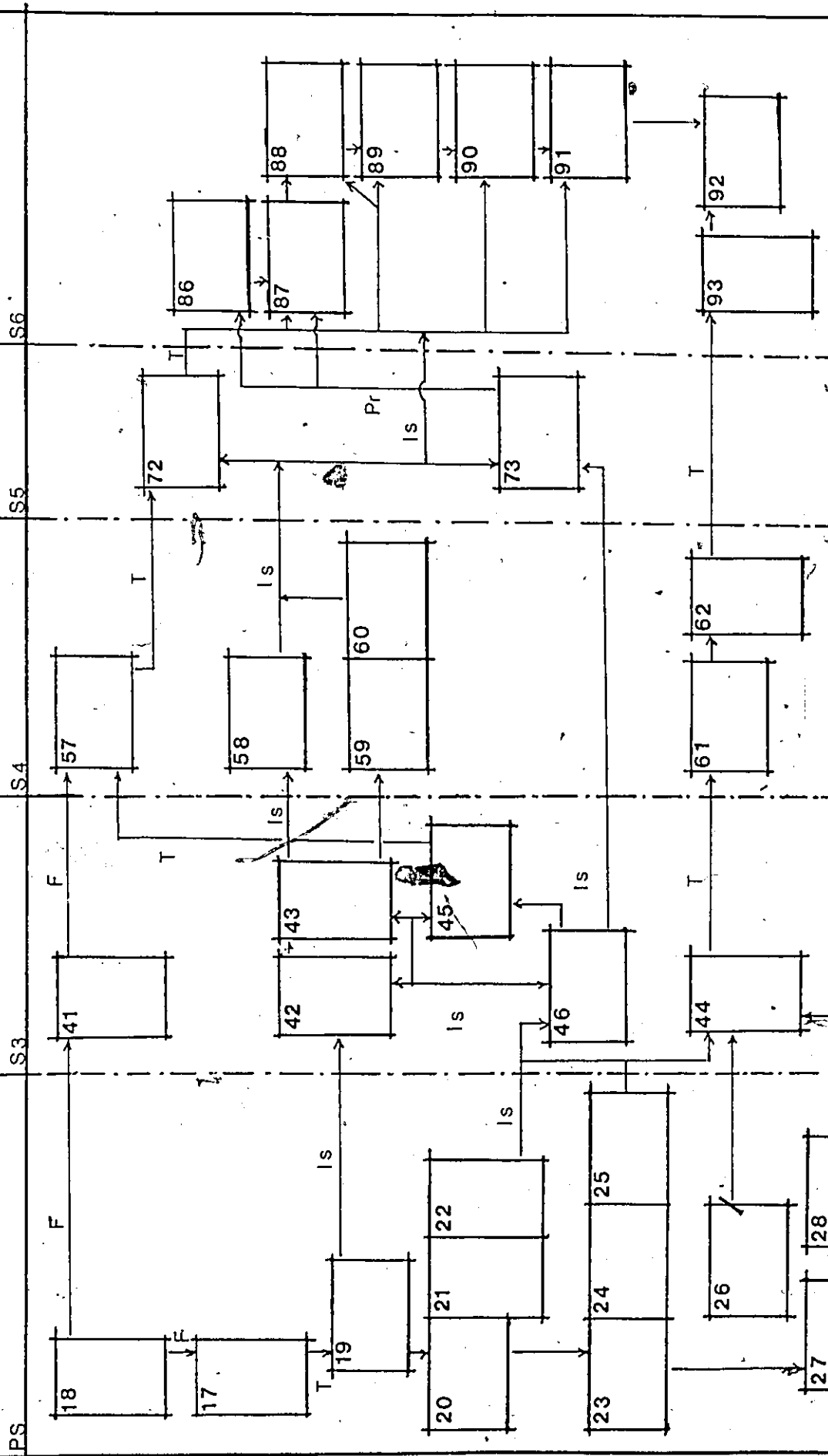
B1 Notes on Benches.

1) **Bench Type** is a reference to the design and structure of the bench used. There are four identified types of benches and each facilitates one type of behaviour more than others.

a) Concave benches are primarily situated around fountains or gardens in this location. Groups or dyads are more likely to use these types of benches because they are more suitable to the interaction of gatherings than other types of benches. Concave benches diminish the ability of individuals to isolate themselves and privatize a space because of the **focus of attention** they assume. When sitting on a concave bench, individuals' **focus of attention** is directed inward and thus strangers may find themselves in direct eye-contact with others. This formation is more suited to groups, where a central **focus of attention** is sought.

b) Convex benches facilitate the isolation of individuals since the **focus of attention** of these individuals is directed outwardly. Vantage points radiate out from the centre, and looking at the person next to you is hindered by the curvature of the bench. If dyads or groups use these types of benches, there is a tendency to position their bodies in such a way as to produce a **circular formation**.

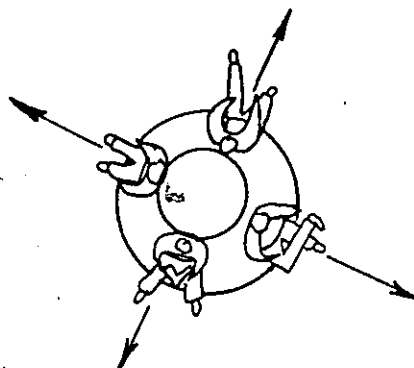
# BENCHES



Key Linkages  
 F formation of individual(s)  
 T bench type  
 Is isolation  
 Pr props



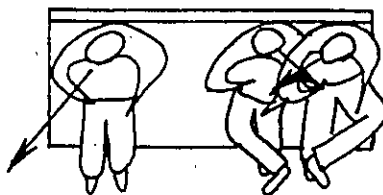
figure 7.1:



schematic maps.

c) Straight benches also diffuse the **focus of attention** of groups and dyads. Each member, if conforming to the design of the bench, has a different **focus of attention**. Groups using this type of bench have a tendency toward a circular formation in their seating pattern. Dyads also alter their positions to face each other. Individuals by themselves tend to turn away from others who share the bench with them, and also distancing themselves from the other.

figure 7.2:



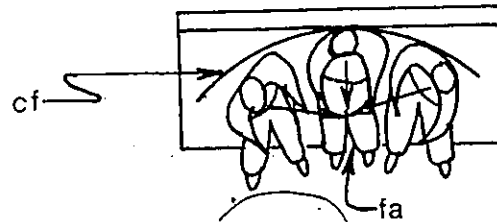
d) "Improvised seating" is defined as being anything which is used for sitting on and which was not intended to be sat on. Examples of such seating would be the floor, stairs, ledges or things like garbage cans or large planters. This type of seating is more readily combined with the concept of **shelter** since individual subjects tend to find a place which is out of the way or hidden.

2) **Circular formation** refers to a the placement of individuals while interacting with others. This placement is in the shape of

schematic maps.

a circle and the manner in which this formation is adapted by individuals who use benches. Groups have a tendency to form this pattern, even while sitting, by turning their bodies or leaning forward so to find a common focus of attention.

figure 7.3:



3) **Occupation** is the act of directing one's focus of attention to something brought to the setting, which occupies the subject's interest. This act, then, is a means of distancing the individual from the goings on around them and one which isolates the subject and also contributes to the privatization of space.

4) **Distancing** is a term used to designate not only the physical proxemics of the individual to others, but has the connotation of a mental distance as well, though the former is far more apparent and is used more frequently. This mental distancing can only be assumed and there is rarely enough evidence in the photographs to state that this is the case. When a reference to the mental distancing of a subject is made, it is merely the impression of the researcher that such is the case. A physical distance is considered to be an isolation factor and is related to Edward Hall's notions of proxemics.

5) **Shelter** is a term denoting the subject's relationship to various physical structural elements which have the capacity to

schematic maps.

distance and isolate the individual. **Shelter** allows the individual greater isolation as well as the ability to 'hide' from the goings on around them and to protect him/her from intrusion.

6) **Intimacy-conflict Dichotomy** indicates a characteristic of a relationship between two or more individuals showing either intimacy or conflict. This activity serves to define a space as being private and to isolate the individuals involved from others. This is a privatization factor which is also seen in the category of railings, but was developed in this category. Thus, isolation and privatization occurs through an act of intimacy, such as a kiss or a hug, or through obvious conflict.

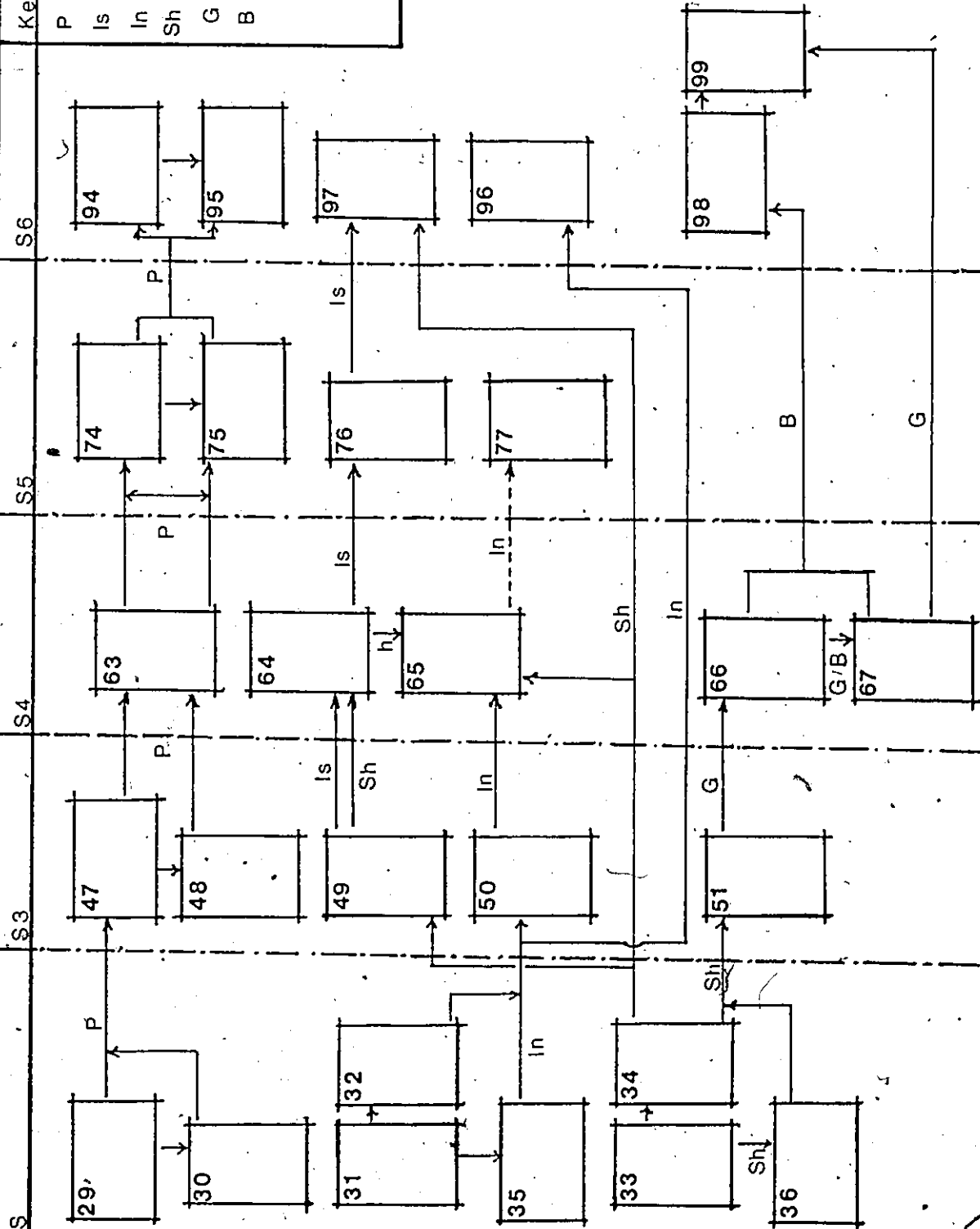
7) **Props**, in this category, are mostly movable objects brought to the setting by the individual. Props tend to allow the individual to direct his or her focus of attention and/or help increase the privacy of the space defined. If other physical structural elements are located in close proximity to the bench, then these elements can be considered to be props, for example that of a railing, to increase privatization.

8) **Composition** is a term referring to the subjects in the photograph and their various characteristics, such as age or gender. Thus, data with similar composition is data with a grouping of subjects similar to other data, i.e., families.

# RAILINGS

Key Linkages

P posture  
Is isolation  
In intimacy conflict  
Sh shelter  
G group  
B bridging



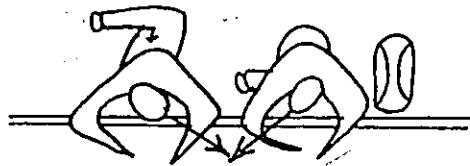
d

schematic maps.

C] Notes on Railings.

1] **Posture** as applied here refers to a common stance of persons standing at the railing, a stance which has emerged as a pattern. This stance is typified by the subject leaning forward against the railing, the elbows of the subject rest on the top rail, one leg is straight at the knee but is at an angle, while the other is bent across the first leg, either in front or behind, the subject's focus of attention is usually directed to the floor below; any bags or parcels are at the subject's feet.

figure 7.4:



2] **Bridging** is an activity involving subjects situated on different floors of the complex, or separated by a public space. This activity shows the individuals **bridging** this distance through verbal and non-verbal communication. It then has the capacity to attract the attention of others who are in the location.

3] **Shelter**, as in the other two categories, is the use of a physical structural element to hide, protect or isolate the individual from others. Using railings as a means of shelter is an obvious example, and the railing can also be considered to be

schematic maps.

a fortifying human wall.

4) **Intimacy-conflict Dichotomy** is evident in this category as well as in benches. However, the railing is used as a shelter and adds to this concept. A couple sitting on a bench in an alcove like structure surrounded by a railing, and whose backs form a wall against those passing by partake in intimate behaviour. Thus, isolation and privatization can be said to be evident.

5) Isolation can be measured by the distance of an individual to others. It can also be seen in the way the railing is used as **shelter**, especially when combined with other structural elements.

6) **REDEFINITION OF RAILINGS AS A MAJOR SUB-CATEGORY OF STOPPING.** Though some of the data in railings suggest a prolonged period of being at rest, especially those photographs of subjects using benches or sitting down, the majority of the data suggests a more temporary state of being at rest - a break - because of this, railings has been redefined as being part of stopping.

\* \* \* \* \*

From the observational notes - the photographs/data and the written description - key linkages are made. In Chapter 6 the photographs/data were summarized and emergent concepts articulated. In the section above, the relationship alluded to in the previous chapter are made visible. In applying Lofland's model these relationships, or key linkages are given further meaning.

application of Lofland's model.

## 7.2. APPLICATION OF LOFLAND'S MODEL OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

In section 3.3 a description of Lofland's Analysis of Social Organization was given as it relates to this study. Utilizing three of Lofland's "units of social organization", that of encounters, groups and settlements, and the three categories of "novel, generic analysis", structure, process and strategy, a chart of nine cells is formed (see figure 7.5).

figure 7.5:

novel, generic analysis units of social organization	structure	process	strategies
encounters	1	2	3
groups	4	5	6
settlements	7	8	9

An extensive analysis of the data was undertaken and completed using this model. Concepts, as they have been presented above in chapter six and with regard to the schematic maps, relate directly to the analysis using this model. Though it has been stated earlier in this paper, that repetition serves to illustrate the process by which the concepts emerged and were developed, to present Lofland's model as it was applied in this study, and in its entirety, would stretch these boundaries of illustration and would be repetitious without serving any purpose. Since, the categories of "structure" and "process"

application of lofland's model.

"contributed to the analysis which took place in the category of "strategies", then, the three cells under the category "strategies" are presented in this section (cells 3, 6 and 9). Furthermore, the analysis presented in these three cells integrate the emergent concepts with existing theory.

Prior to presenting the contents of these cells, an explanation as to the definition of the related unit of social organization is given. Definitions of the categories of analysis are given in section 3.3 but are briefly noted below:

Structure : ask> What are the defining features of this structural unit?

Process : ask> What typical stages, phases, sequences or cycles do various types of social organizations go through?

Strategies: ask> How do people do things in units of social organization? What are their generic situations and strategies?

Thus, each of the three units of social organization went through the three areas of analysis, the last of which is presented here.

#### 7.2.1.a. Encounters.

Though Lofland's definition of this unit involves "a few people" (1976:27), the definition used here is modified so as to state that the smallest unit of social organization is that of the individual interacting with his or her environment. This adapted definition takes into account the individual's interaction with both the physical environment of buildings and nature ( or nature transplanted) as well as with that of others located in the setting. This adaptation better facilitates the analysis of the data gathered.



application of Iofland's model.

#### 7.2.1.b. Encounters by Strategies: Cell 3.

In this cell, the strategies used to privatize a public space are examined. In the previous cell, encounters by process, the question was focused on what people did, here the concentration is on how people are doing things. One must keep in mind that cognitive processes and strategies are not examined, but rather the behavioural manifestation of possibly unconscious cognition. Thus, the examination which takes place in this cell revolves around how individuals accomplish privatization, and utilizes the emergent concepts in this unit of social organization which are specific to the generic situation. Four concepts are examined here as to how the individuals manifest this behaviour. These concepts are 1) **focus of attention**, 11) distancing, 111) circular formation, and d) intimacy-conflict dichotomy.

1) **Focus of attention** is a concept where an individual can either solicit contact with others or create and maintain isolation. In this study, the **focus of attention** is primarily determined by the direction of gaze of the individual and whether this individual's gaze is fixed or diffused. How do individuals manifest a fixed or diffused **focus of attention**? If an individual is turning his/her head or shifting his/her direction of gaze frequently and is not concentrating on an object, person or happening then this is considered to be a diffused **focus of attention**. An individual may interrupt this activity to fix

application of Iofland's model.

his/her gaze on a passerby for a short period of time, but then resumes looking around. These periodic occurrences of fixing one's gaze on others may solicit contact with that other and this could lead to the individual's territory being expanded by the inclusion of the other or the individual transgressing the other's territory and thereby violating an aspect of public order. However, these periodic recognitions of others is what Goffman termed "civil inattention" (1963, 1971). In Relation in Public, Goffman (1971), elaborates on the notion of "civil inattention" to "include new arrivals into a setting. Goffman states:

...when an individual pushes his way to a drugstore counter to sit at a stool that is hemmed in by the two individuals on adjacent stools, the person already, as it were, in possession will often examine the newcomer openly while he takes care to keep his eyes front. Civil inattention is mutually exhibited but more by the arrival than by those already ensconced. (1971:210)

Thus, those who arrive into a setting pay less attention to others in the setting than do those who are already in a setting and witness a newcomer. Therefore, those who are seated on benches take more note of those who are in transit than those who are in transit take of those who are seated. Civil inattention is exhibited more by those who are in transit than those seated. This is illustrated in the data.

b) Space or distance is a vital factor in the privatization of a public area. In several of the photographs the distances between individuals are obvious. Individuals who use benches

application of lofland's model.

supply us with the most information regarding the maintenance of space with respect to others. Refer to photographs 23, 24, 25, 42, 45, 57, 72, 73, 90 and 91 for examples of **distances** maintained between strangers. Edward Hall's model of proxemics (1969) is of little use here because in highly populated areas the spaces involved is diminished. Thus, Hall's conception of public space being anything greater than ten feet, is shrunk to a distance which would be greater than two or three feet. Definition of various spaces in a public place is not dependent on the actual distance in feet or meters, but rather is dependent on the situational definition (Thomas, 1978). That is, in a public place, individuals observe claims on territory which others make, but these claims are continually redefined depending on others in the situation. Goffman's concept of "copresence" and "public decorum" (1963) are at play here. Thus, in the data, it can be seen that a public distance may in fact only be two feet, but the "body idiom" (Goffman, 1969:33) of the individuals may increase the **distance** if not the space. **Distance** then, is a concept which not only takes into account the spatial relationship of individuals but also their physical orientation (direction they face or of their gaze, **focus of attention**, occupation in props used, and/or relations with significant others), in short their "body idiom".

c1 There is only a tendency towards a circular formation within this level of social organization. A dyad cannot form a circle,

application of Iofland's model. but they can orient themselves towards each other or away from each other. Hence, they can exhibit only a tendency toward rather than the formation of an actual circle. Such a formation is better seen at the level of groups. At this level of social organization two relationships of people are of concern: i) those who are in "copresence" (Goffman, 1963; Kendon, 1973; Schefflen, 1976) and those who are not affiliated to each other except in that they are spatially in the presence of one another; ii) a dyad, "in which two people are mutually involved or affiliated" (Schefflen, 1976).

Orientation of the individual(s) is a factor in determining a tendency towards or away from the circular formation. Thus, strangers "use several means to maximize the distance between themselves and remain uninvolved." (Neuman, 1976:93). As stated above, **distance** is not necessarily a function of space, but is also an indication of orientation. Thus, maximizing space can take on characteristics of turning away from others and one's **focus of attention** would be directed else where, one's back would form a **wall** directed at the other, and **props** could be used as a barrier to further **distance** the stranger. Neuman made these same observations and stated that strangers "... space themselves as far apart as possible and orient in different directions..." (1976:94). Photograph 57 demonstrates this notion of orientation. Though the bench used is circular and the individuals' **focus of attention** are radiating out, the **distances** which each individual

places between the others is maximized and orientation is at approximately ninety-degree angles. Photograph 45 is another example of this. When a straight bench is used by two strangers, the space between them is maximized, in that both occupy either end of the bench, and their orientation is again at a near ninety degree angle. Thus, maximizing **distance** is a factor of space and orientation.

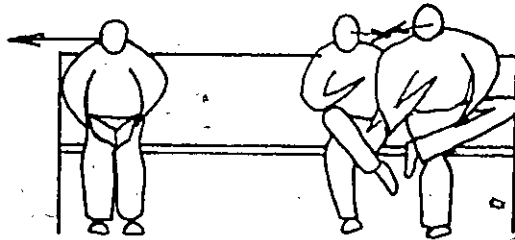
Dyads, that is, those individuals who are affiliated with each other "...tend to cluster closely. Furthermore, they tend to co-orient and use parallel or congruent postures." (Neuman, 1976: 97). This is evident in the data in all categories. When in transit individuals tend to keep in step, and postures can be similar, couples tend to have physical contact with each other [photographs 3, 37, 38, 52, 68, and 78], and same-sex groups tend to walk close together [photographs 5, 6, and 53]. When stopped, individuals in dyads tend to mirror each other [photographs 7, 8, 9, 10, 54, 70, and 81]. When sitting down individuals in dyads orient themselves towards each other (tendency towards a **circular formation**) and take on similar postures [photographs 27, 28, 33, 36, 61, 65, 86, 91 and 93]. When standing at a railing, dyadic relations have a tendency toward a **circular formation** and again mirror images are detected [photographs 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 50, 65, 74, 94, and 96].

When dyads are co-present with a lone individual "...they will indicate their witness (W) and non-witness (X)

application of lofland's model.  
relationship." (Neuman, 1976; 96). That is they will define the situation in such a way as to give off expressive messages (Goffman, 1963) that they (meaning the dyad) are together and are separate from the individual. On the other hand, the individual will give off expressive messages that he/she is not part of the dyad. When these individuals give off these expressive messages, they take the form of orientation - **focus of attention, posture, distancing** and most likely a tendency towards a circular formation. Thus, "body idiom" (Goffman, 1963), is how these messages are expressed. An individual's "withness" indicates an "involvement" (Goffman, 1963) with a significant other, whereas "non-withness" is an indication of an "involvement shield" (Goffman, 1963) of some kind. This involvement shield is not necessarily physical but is established through the expressive messages given off to define the situation and implements body idiom as the means of separation. In other words, the orientation of the two parties is such that they come to an agreement through a process of non-verbal communication, which pays each other "civil inattention" (Goffman, 1963) in defining the situation and the conditions of their copresence.

Photograph 91 demonstrates the above mentioned supposition. A dyad is seen on the right of the photograph, while a lone individual is on the left; each party has claimed the ends of the benches, leaving a space in the middle. (see figure 7.6)

figure 7.6:



Individual "A" is oriented straight ahead with his **focus of attention** off to his right, and away from the dyad, individuals "B" and "C". Individual "A" also is at the edge of the bench. Individual "C" is at the opposite end of the bench to individual "A". Individuals "B" and "C" are mirror images in their lower body posture and their heads and **focus of attention**, their upper bodies are similar in posture if not mirror images (assumption: that both these individuals are right handed, which would account for their deviation from a mirror-image). Individual "A" has his elbows out, which is considered to be a stance which protects territory by Nueman (1976), and Schefflen (1976). Individual "B" is turned very slightly away from "A", so that her back - more specifically, her right shoulder and arm - form a partial wall. In this scenario, the body idiom of those photographed gives off expressive messages to the other party that "B" and "C" have established "witness" or "involvement" with each other, or an "involvement shield" between "A" and "B" is formed, and that "A" has "non-witness". These two parties are however, in copresence and at the initiation of the situation paid "civil inattention" to each other to establish the definition of the situation and their respective territories.

application of lofland's model.

d1 "Withness" and "involvement" are precisely what lies behind the emergent concept of the intimacy-conflict dichotomy. In giving off expressive messages which impress on others that two individuals are involved or have "withness" these individuals are also putting up an "involvement shield" of sorts and stating that others are "non-withness" to their situation. This concept would be better termed the affection-conflict dichotomy, since conflict is a kind of intimate behaviour. When an individual expresses conflict then, he/she gives off a message of involvement with a significant other and an involvement shield is put in place to keep out others. Therefore, "withness" and involvement is established through the expressive actions of the individuals within the situation, and this action excludes those who may be copresent and are able to observe the conflict situation.

Photographs 20, 21 and 22 provide an example of the above mentioned behaviour. Prior to this behaviour being photographed, the researcher heard a loud yell from the female. This yell emanated from the floor below. After the yell, the female of the dyad ran to the bench followed by the male. (One problem with photography is that one cannot always anticipate when a situation is going to occur which would be of interest and thus the recording process is delayed.) [This situation is detailed in the section 5.1.9 of the Pilot Study.] Both the male and the female in the situation are defined as being involved. What is interesting is the behaviour of the two individuals to either



application of Lofland's model.

side of the dyad. On the right is a male who defines his "non-witness" and thus places an involvement shield up, by increasing the space between himself and the dyad in conflict. This individual however, frequently orients himself to observe the dyad in conflict. This may be partly because of the fact that both members of the dyad maintain their backs to this individuals, creating a wall. Secondly, the female on the right of the dyad, though in what Hall would determine to be intimate space (1969) with the female of the dyad, orients her body idiom and her focus of attention away from the dyad and maintains an occupation with a prop - that of reading her newspaper. Thus, both individuals who are not involved with the conflict situation have declared their "non-witness" and have an "involvement shield" of some kind. Affection, or what has been termed intimacy, has much the same effect and can be applied in the same manner.

#### 7.2.2.a. Groups.

Group-scale situations, as Lofland defines them, are dependent on the unit of social organization of roles. Individuals have roles within the group and this level of social organization is based on how these individuals, with their assumed roles, act as a unit. Some of the data is given to role-scale situation and roles can be determined to some extent, but not in great depth. Not all the data can be analyzed in this manner. Thus, the definition of this unit of social organization

application of lofland's model.

is adapted to examine primarily the structure of the group as it relates to the privatization of a public space. This is dependent on non-verbal information, primarily body positions. Therefore, the role of the individual is not a necessary factor in this analysis, but rather, how the group functions as a unit for the purposes of privatization.

Secondly, for the purposes of this study and specifically for this phase of the analysis, group-scale shall be considered and applied to that data which has been observed and categorized as sharing common elements. Thus, analysis in this unit of social organization is on that data organized as being in the Transit, Stopping, Railings or Benches categories.

#### 7.2.2.b. Groups by Strategies: Cell 6.

In this cell, how individuals privatize a public space when involved with significant others is examined. Not only group activity is focused on but also "the group of" is included. Individuals photographed and those photographs which were placed in one or the other of the emergent categories are considered to be a group. Each of the above applications of the word "group", shall be examined in relation to i) the tendency towards or the absence of a **circular formation** and the related emergent concepts; and ii) the emergent concept of bridging.

i) In cell three the emergent concept of a **circular formation** was discussed in relation to a dyad and its tendency to such a pattern. In this cell, this same emergent concept is examined in

application of Iofland's model. relation to individuals alone, and also groups of three or more individuals. Albert Schefflen (1976), uses the term "'o" zone' to denote the same formation of individuals. Schefflen defines this "o" zone as follows:

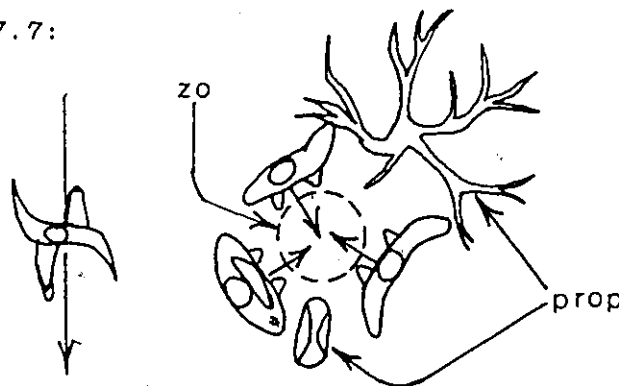
When the participants are oriented mutually, the zone of orientation lies at the centre of the cluster. In this case we shall say the "o" space is a zone. Into this central zone the participants cast their orientations" (1976: 112).

Thus, Schefflen's definition implies that in such a formation the **focus of attention** is directed inward to the group, and that the backs of the individual's form a wall to the goings on around them.

Let us examine a situation where this **circular formation** is manifested. This example, though hypothetical, is related to a number of the photographs presented in this paper and is specifically related to photographs 11, 12, 13, 14, 55, 71, 82 and 83 where the **circular formation** is clearly apparent. Thus, figure 7.7, refers to the generic situation where a **circular formation** is manifested and various aspects of this pattern can be related to both emergent concepts in this paper and existing concepts of other theories.

As is demonstrated in this example, and in the data, the individuals conform to the pattern and create a circle. Also, the backs of their bodies act as a wall to the goings on around them and to passers by. These individuals also, have a common **focus of attention** directed inward to the centre of the circle. This shared **focus of attention** conforms to Schefflen's concept of an

figure 7.7:



"o" zone and is within the realm of Goffman's notion of "focused interaction". That is, this type of interaction is of the kind "...that occurs when persons gather close together and openly cooperate to sustain a single focus of attention, typically by taking turns at talking." (Goffman, 1963: 24). It must be noted that the emergent term of **focus of attention** did not consciously come out of Goffman's work, but was applied initially as a description to denote an individual's perceived direction of gaze, and cognitive occupation in the observed situation.

One can then relate Goffman's notions of "face engagements" or "encounters" and "mutual activity" to the emergent concept of a **circular formation**.

Face engagements comprise all those instances of two or more participants in a situation joining each other openly in maintaining a single focus of cognitive and visual attention - what is sensed as a single **mutual activity**, entailing preferential communication rights. (Goffman, 1963: 88).

Though "mutual activity" is readily apparent in the **circular formation**, it is also visible in situations where there is just a tendency towards this pattern. Thus, "face engagement" and "mutual activity" are more directly related to that of **focus of**

application of Iofland's model. **attention** and Schefflen's notion of a zone of orientation. A **circular formation** is in fact an attempt to include, involve and accommodate groups of individuals. As was examined in cell three, dyads exhibit these same characteristics of "face engagement" and "mutual activity" even though they merely have a tendency towards a **circular formation**. Also, many of the photographs of three individuals, especially those in the category of benches, though only having a tendency towards a **circular formation**, still share a common focus of attention, and thus share an "o" zone, a mutual activity and are in a "face engagement" (see photographs 18, 19, 41, 47 and 581).

However, a **circular formation**, or even a tendency towards it, is a function of mutual activity and face engagements according to another of Goffman's notions, that of "spacing".

One of the most interesting forms of cooperation in the maintenance of conventional closure is what might be called **spacing**: the tendency for units of participation in the situation - either face engagements or unengaged individuals - to distribute themselves cooperatively in the available space so as physically to facilitate conventional closure. (Often this seems to involve a maximization of the sum of the squares of the physical distance among the various units.) Of course, where the units of participation owe one another some expression of mutual trust and comradeship, full spacing may be specifically avoided. (Goffman, 1963: 161).

Though he did not go into detail, Goffman has pointed out the relevance of such a factor in face engagements. We can then integrate with Goffman, ideas from both Albert Schefflen and Edward Hall in the area of proxemics as applied in this study to the emergent concept of **distancing**. Specifically, how **distances**

application of lofland's model.

are maintained in a circular formation.

**Distancing** as an emergent concept invokes Hall's typology of proxemics as part of its definition. That is, distancing is the maintenance of "intimate", "personal", "social-consultive" and "public" spaces between given individuals. Depending on the presence of a significant other, as well as physical structural elements, distancing is a function of isolation and thus privatization of a public space. Within a group context personal and close social-consultive spaces are visible. Though Hall's typologies do have some application, they do fail to take into consideration various forms of distancing which do not rely on spacing alone. In the definition of the emergent concept of distancing, an attempt is made to incorporate not only spacing but also how individuals create the perception of space between themselves and the generalized other. Schefflen's "Paradigm of a Total Unit" (1976: 172) is more directly applicable to the situations examined in this study and helps in the adaptation of Hall's typologies.

Schefflen points out that in situations where there is a high degree of involvement, such as a couple embracing, there is no space between them, and in situations where there is a lesser degree of involvement there are various spacings between the individuals in the face engagement (1976: 109). This "simplest" case of an embrace is termed a "location" and can be related to Hall's intimate space (0-1.5-feet, and the various sensory

application of Iofland's model. characteristics). Schefflen uses the term "module" to signify a face formation where there are "closely affiliated pairs". A "module" also conforms to Hall's typologies in that this defined activity can be related to that of personal space and all its characteristics (1.5-4 feet). It is when we get to larger groups that Hall's concepts must be altered.

Schefflen's paradigm is based on concentric circles and each circle defines a zone. Thus, at the centre is the "o" zone, or zone of orientation where participants cast their **focus of attention**. Secondly, there is the "p" zone which is:

The participants take locations about the "o" zone and thus form elements. Collectively, these modules of space form a strip or zone that holds the main or central participants in the face formation. We call this the "zone of participants" or the "p" zone. (Schefflen, 1976: 112)

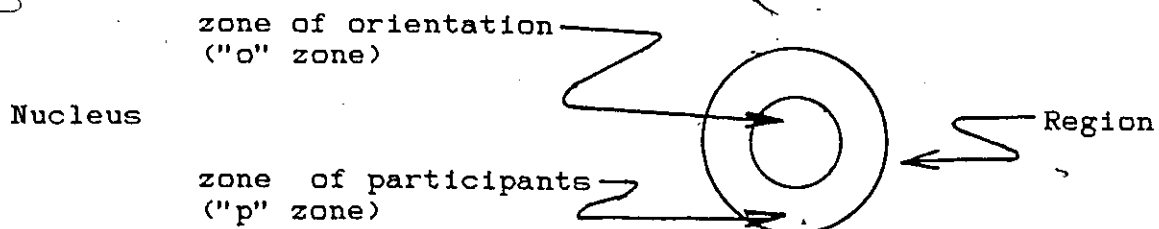
In this definition one can identify Goffman's concepts of "focused interaction", "mutual activity", "involvement" and "face engagement" which are directly related to the direction of individuals' **focus of attention** cast about the "o" zone. Furthermore, Hall's personal and close social-consultive spaces are identified in all of Schefflen's examples of the zone of participants. One could then state that in face engagements a **circular formation** is established whereby focused interaction is identified; perception of mutual activity and a shared **focus of attention**, which also indicate a sense of "witness" between significant others within personal or close social-consultive spaces, depends on the degree of involvement located about a zone

of orientation.

application of lofland's model.

Schefflen identifies two other zones which are of use to this study, that of the "'q" zone" and the "region". Though the region is divided into three further zones, it shall be discussed as one zone here. Schefflen regarded the "o", "p" and "q" zones as being the nucleus of the space. A "q" zone "...if present, is the third or most peripheral of the nuclear zones. In the dining room the "q" space lies behind the chairs allowing room to enter and leave them" (1976: 207). A "q" zone has not been detected in the data collected in this study. Therefore, the data in this study reveals a three zone formation, with the region being the outer zone. A region is defined "...By the fact that people who pass by give the nuclear formation berth, usually a location wide" (Schefflen, 1976: 112). A region then acts as a buffer zone between those who are in a **circular formation** and those who pass by. This is seen in the data and is shown in figure 7.8. Thus, Schefflen's paradigm, adapted to this study, utilizes the "o" zone, "p" zone and the region as seen in figure 7.8 below.

figure 7.8: "A face formation occupies a location, module, or a nucleus of space. The orientational, or "o", space is at the centre since the participants orient mutually. They occupy a cone of central participation ("p" zone) and the whole nucleus is surrounded by a region" (Schefflen, 1976: 113).





application of lofland's model.

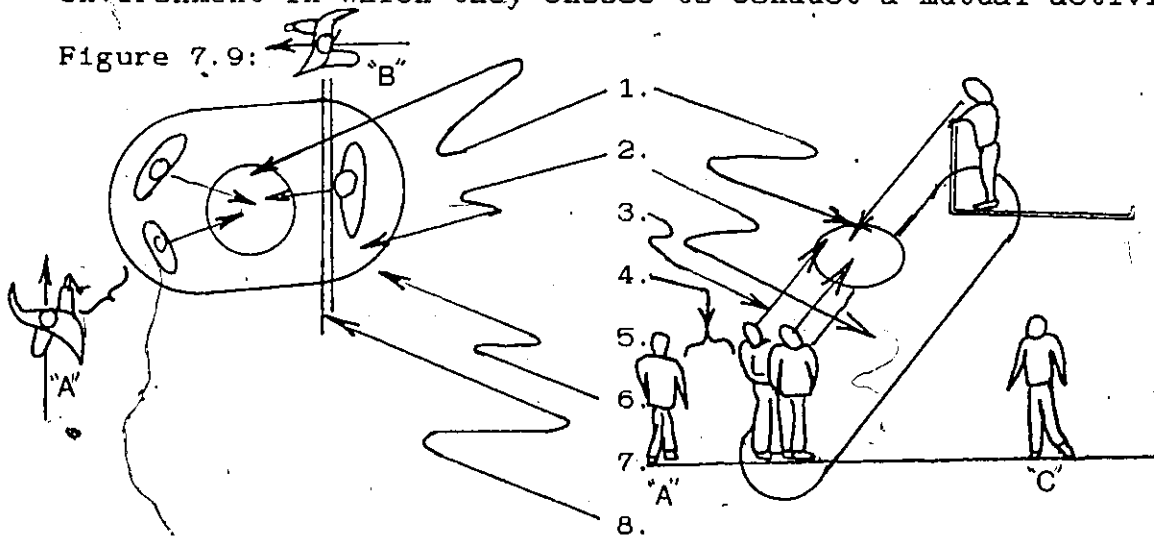
Passers by then leave a space between themselves and the group (a location in Schefflen's terms, that is a module of space for one individual) and pass the group in the outer zones of the region. Also, as Schefflen points out, there is a tendency for the passer by to dip his or her head and eyes as he or she passes (1976: 112), this would lend itself to the further privatization of the public space. This is not noted in the data, since in the situations where passers by were seen, the precise moment of passing the group was not photographed.

111 Bridging is a term that denotes an activity which was observed in the data in cases where individuals of a group maintain verbal and non-verbal contact across the division of levels of the floors. That is, members of a group, maintain group activity while some members are on one floor of the complex and other members are on a lower floor. This activity is primarily seen in photograph 67, and is detected in photographs 66, 98 and 99. Though the **distance** between the individuals is larger, the characteristics as outlined in the section above are adhered to. That is, the **circular formation** and the various zones are seen in such an activity. Figure 7.9 is a diagram of a bridging situation. In this diagram it is clearly seen that a **circular formation** is in existence and the various concepts, both emergent and in existing theory related to such a formation, are at play. In short, it is such a situation as was described in the section above (1). Yet, the distance between individuals is increased.

application of lofland's model.

Thus, **distancing** is not always a factor of space but of the relationship of the individuals in a face engagement and the environment in which they choose to conduct a mutual activity.

Figure 7.9:



1. "o" zone > focused interaction.
2. **Focus of Attention** > Mutual activity.
3. "p" zone > Circular Formation > Face Engagement > personal to close social-consultive space.
4. location > personal space > but social-consultive characteristics.
5. passers by "A", "B" and "C" > "A" and "C" established region > "C" extended region dependent of definition of the situation.
6. Region > social-consultive to public space characteristics.
7. Extended region due to bridging.
8. Division of floors - Railing.

Thus, bridging is in fact a **circular formation** over a greater space. Passers-by maintain the distance from the group and pass the group in the region. One can speculate that the region may be a bit wider on the side where passer by "B" is walking because he would perceive from the actions of the group members visible to him, that they had claimed a space through their bridging activity. Hence, passer by "B" has observed the activity and through civil inattention has defined the situation

application of lofland's model.

to yield the conventional amount of space for such an activity.

#### 7.2.3.a. Settlements

Lofland's definition is accepted here with no alterations. "Settlements", examines the interrelated sets of encounters, roles and groups "sharing territory, performing an important range of life-sustaining functions, and having to take one another into account..." (Lofland, 1976:29). This unit of social organization examines the activity collected throughout the location at all times and thus all the data gathered in relation to itself.

#### 7.2.3.b. Settlements by Strategies: Cell 9.

Cell nine summarizes the analysis of all previous cells. Thus, here an examination of the privatization of public spaces is at its broadest and most general. Through the analysis conducted thus far, the various concepts related to the behaviour observed in this study have been examined - both emergent concepts and those from existing theory. In this cell the focus of the analysis is on the notions of a) isolation and b) attraction as means of privatization. Also, privatization shall be examined in this cell to include c) transit activity.

As was seen in cell nine, Albert Schefflen's paradigm of a total unit (1976) was applied. This paradigm forms the basis of analyzing the privatization of public spaces. Unlike Lyn Lofland's (1973) notion of privatization - which is one where the psychological component is considered - this study takes into

application of lofland's model.

consideration the proxemic relationships of individuals in a public place. Thus, one must examine distances, and what can be considered to be perceived distances, between those involved in a situation or in a situation at large (Goffman, 1963: 18). Though Schefflen's paradigm was not considered during the collection of data, the terms, patterns and concepts which emerged from the data are complemented by this model.

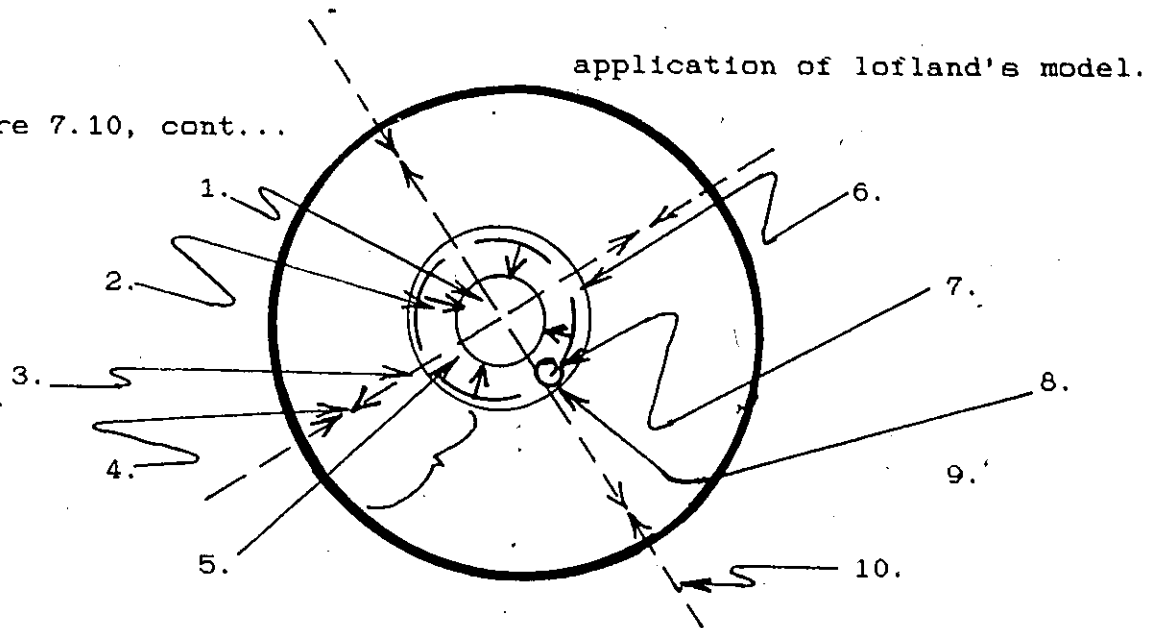
In all three emergent categories Schefflen's total unit can be readily identified. In this study, this model has been adapted to include the terminology which has emerged from the data and some related concepts from Goffman's dramaturgical approach. Thus, the following were developed.

figure 7.10:

1. zone of orientation ["o" zone]>
2. fixed focus of attention > focused interaction
3. diffused focus of attention > unfocused interaction
4. civil inattention.
5. zone of participants ["p" zone]
6. circular formation [or its tendency]
7. wall
8. prop.
9. region [a distance of one location\*]
10. region of passers-by.

cont...

figure 7.10, cont...



\* Location is a term used by Schefflen to indicate a distance of one person.  
 \*\* See appendix I for application of this model to a sample of the data.

Schefflen's paradigm is therefore adapted to a model of the privatization of a public space. Distances which individuals implement contribute to the definition of the space as private through isolation, attraction or transit. It is here that Hall's system of proxemics is used to determine which of the aforementioned is applicable.

a) Isolation is also characterized by i) a diffused focus of attention or what one would consider to be civil inattention between the subject and those individuals outside of the defined space: ii) A common focus of attention between individuals who are within the same dyad or group: iii) A circular formation of the individuals in the group or a tendency toward such a pattern: iv) It can be seen that the back of an individual is used as a wall to increase the perceived distance between passers-by: v)

application of Iofland's model.

When occupation is noted, a fixed focus of attention on a prop would also serve to increase the perceived distance of the subject to others: vi) Use of physical structural elements can provide shelter and thus distance the individual or group from passers-by: and vii) Railings can be used to distance the individual from those who are directly in his or her line of vision. Thus, privatization through isolation is based on minimal distances and contains verbal and non-verbal behaviour, as well as maintaining a distance, either physical or perceived, between the individual, group or dyad and those exterior to the unit.

b) Privatization through attraction would conform to Hall's not close social-consultive or public distances. Attraction is characterized by the departure of an individual's behaviour from the social norms which dictate public decorum (Goffman, 1963: 21). That is, i) expressions of intimacy in public are a departure of a norm which dictates that intimacy should not be expressed in public but in the domain of a private place (Goffman, 1963:8): ii) As with intimacy, conflict too departs from this public decorum in the same manner: iii) Bridging, however, not only departs from a norm - that of exaggerated verbal and non-verbal behaviour in this situation - but also, in such a departure, takes up excessive public space. One must also note that these departures from public decorum are also violations of social order (Goffman, 1963:8).

c) Finally, privatization through transit is not specific to

application of lofland's model.

one location but to the individual or group as he/she or they move through social settings and locations. Sommers has used the term "personal space" or "space bubble" (1969) to denote the space an individual carries with him/her. A dyad or group then encompasses a collective "space bubble" which moves with the unit. In this way, privatization of a public space occurs, but this application is on the fringe of the definition used in this study.

### 7.3. Summary.

It is not enough to suggest that an individual carry around with him/her a "space bubble" (Sommers, 1969). Throughout the analysis, what has emerged is that space, a person's territory, the privatization of a public place, is a "relationship of behaviours" (Ashcraft and Schefflen, 1976:7). An example of this relationship is cited below:

The "buffer zone" between two Cubans casually conversing at low density may be as small as eighteen inches. The same space under the same conditions between two Englishmen will exceed a yard. Space is defined by the joint behaviours of those present. (Ashcraft and Schefflen, 1976:7).

Space is defined by those participating, but space is only privatized when those on the periphery of the situation, those passing-by, recognize the territorial claims of the participants.

As Ashcraft and Schefflen point out, the claim of an individual or individuals on a public space does not have to endure great tests or challenges.

...if a space is claimed and that claim respected, no matter how transient the act, a territory has been formed...

application of lofland's model.

Concreteness and durability do not form essential criteria in defining territory (Ashcraft and Schefflen, 1976: 7) Thus, privatization occurs when others respect the nominal territorial claims of the participants, and this respect is the essence of social and public order.

These emergent concepts, and their integration with existing theoretical concepts, such as those presented here - those of Goffman, Hall, Schefflen, Sommers and Ashcraft - are intricately linked to the broader social theory of Symbolic Interactionism.

The term "symbolic interaction" refers, of course, to the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings. The peculiarity consists in the fact that human beings interpret or "define" each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Their "response" is not made directly to the actions of one another but instead is based on the meaning which they attach to some actions. Thus, human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretations, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions. This mediation is equivalent to inserting a process of interpretation between stimulus and response in the case of human behaviour." (Blummer, 1978a: 97).

Blummer's definition takes into account W. I. Thomas' ideas on "the definition of the situation" (1978:254), "...that the action is formed or constructed by interpreting the situation" (Blummer, 1978a: 101). In turn Goffman's work makes use of the ideas above in his concepts of public order (see Chapter 2.2, page 19), social order (see, Chapter 2.2, page 18) and public decorum (1963). These concepts of Goffman, specifically that of public decorum, are based on a "...common understandings or definitions of how to act in this or that situation. These common definitions enable people to act alike." (Blummer, 1978:101).



summary.

Thus, the territorial claims of individuals and groups are respected in the relationship between those individuals or groups, and those who, external to the situation. This respect of these claims, and the relationship between the subject and those on the periphery of the situation, which Ashcraft and Schefflen noted, are thus substantiated in the theories of Blummer and Thomas. Furthermore, the adapted paradigm of Schefflen's, conforms to this pattern of establishing a relationship, even through the act of "civil inattention", and respecting the claims of the individual or group in this relationship. Those who encounter an individual or group in a public place, must then define the presenting situation and make decisions about his/her action.

\* \* \* \* \*

Chapters five through seven have contained the presentation and analysis of the behavioural data. Attempts to maintain the "process orientation" of this study may have resulted in repetition of various points. However, through this repetition the emergent concepts were developed, defined and refined. Each level or stage of analysis contributed to the following stage, and this progression is carried further in the analysis of the method which is contained in Part III.

**PART III****PRESENTATION OF DATA AND ANALYSIS: METHOD.****INTRODUCTION.**

In the previous section the data on the public behaviour component of this study was examined. In the following three chapters the visual sociology or methodological component falls under scrutiny. Again, Schatzman and Strauss' notation model is adhered to in the examination of the methodological component. In chapter eight, the observational notes takes the form of a methodological diary of the fieldwork and are analyzed in Chapter Nine in conjunction with the methodological notes made after each session which are summarized in chapter six. Chapter nine, though it could be an extension of the methodological diary, combines a description of the analysis process, plus conforms to the requirements of methodological notes and offers a critique of the method. Theoretical notes presented in chapter ten rely on previous studies done within the realm of visual sociology. In the latter chapter, the methodology used is paralleled to a study done by Douglas Harper. Furthermore, the Theoretical notes also include what may be considered to be an ideal type, and should be considered by the visual sociologist in the development of a methodology using still photography.

methodological notes.

## 8. METHODOLOGICAL NOTES: METHODOLOGICAL DIARY.

### 8.1. Introduction.

This methodological diary was used to record the researcher's general impressions of the time spent in the field. In reviewing its contents, one may say it is not methodologically based at all. However, the observations noted here are very relevant to how the methodology was carried out and various decisions were made in the field relating to different aspects of this study. Issues may be alluded to, initial concepts may be noted, and difficulties documented. All this, is relevant to the process. Even the feelings and fears of the researcher have effects on the data collected and in the analysis of that data.

It is important to note that the entry for the preliminary session was not done, or thought to be done, until late in the analysis process, and once all the data had been collected. Furthermore, the entries presented here have not been altered to any great extent. They are really a documented version of free flowing thoughts of the researcher during time spent in the field. In some cases, terminology has been replaced to relate to the analysis and the terms used there, but this occurs infrequently.

From these notes, and the data collected, one can start to evaluate and analyze the method used in this study. One could say that these are observational notes, and in fact they are. Using them as such, a progression to methodological and theoretical

notes can be made.

\* \* \* \* \*

## 8.2. Preliminary Session.

I had entered this location several times before in the capacity of a shopper, a browser, as a patron but never as a researcher. This transformation is one which I had to make and this session, I hoped, would introduce me to such a role within this setting. Though I was familiar with the structure of the building and what was located there, I did not pay attention to the areas of high activity in an overt way, nor to the best vantage points to observe various activities. Knowing generally what did take place in what settings, it was difficult to bring this knowledge to the forefront, to verbalize it, and to operationalize it.

This session was productive in one way. I identified places from which I could observe behaviour of the general population. These places had been noted but were done so without conscious knowledge of why they were chosen with relation to behaviour. Thus, vantage points were chosen but specific behaviours were still a relative mystery, or even hardly considered during this first session. If behaviours were considered, notions as to what should be photographed would have shaped the data gathering process prior to its initiation. However, this also means that there was no logical place to start to photograph behaviour in this location.

This session, though having some positive results as to the technical aspects of using photography here, did not yield benefits so as to narrow down what behaviour could be studied. Furthermore, the fears of the researcher in doing research in such a location and with such a broad sample were not alleviated.

### 8.3. Session One.

Camera in hand I went to the location today to start data gathering. I had my camera in a Knapsack and walked around for approximately fifteen minutes. In short I had some fears about taking the camera out and shooting. I attempted to keep it hidden for as long as possible. Furthermore, I was at a loss as to where to start. I realized that I had to make the break from the type of photographs I was used to taking, or at least used to trying to make, that of interesting things with some artistic merit, to that of the everyday and even mundane. However, my first shots were of the Santa's Pavilion, and focused on cute kids telling Santa what they wanted for Christmas. This was not yielding very much so I also included the approach of the child to Santa and even the parent's behaviour. It is at this point that I started to make the break from interesting and artistic to commonplace.

Walking through the location I encountered a situation made up of two individuals in the process of saying good-bye. This situation advanced my break further. I began to see the interesting in the everyday. I took a total of four shots, one

methodological notes.

whenever an action was taken to distance or bring together the dyad. I refrained from shooting while they were moving - though in retrospect I should have documented these actions as well.

After photographing this situation I became somewhat more comfortable with my role as research photographer in this public location. I attempted to take photographs in all areas and with a wide sample of activity. Concentrating on no real behaviour except two which made themselves obvious to me at the time: that of being in transit and of being stationary.

#### 8.4. Session Two.

In this session I had made notes as to the behaviour which took place in this location and identified some areas to consider and photograph. These decisions resulted from the analysis of the previous session's data and focused on transit and stationary activities. However, settings were chosen to observe these behaviours. Thus, areas which had benches were identified as well as areas where pedestrian traffic was fairly dense. I thus concentrated on the area between the north and central courts which accommodated both categories. Also the area around the central fountain was identified. I did venture to the south court as well, though in an attempt to maintain an aspect of surveying the area for other types of behaviour.

I initially photographed individuals using conventional benches and then realized that other physical structures were also used for sitting on. My attempts to photograph such

methodological notes.

happenings was not very fruitful. Furthermore, I structured this session to include three parts: benches, walking and standing at the railing - primarily at the central fountain. Photographs in all three areas were taken.

Secondly, during the analysis of the first session, the distance I maintained between those I photographed and myself was noted to be considerable, resulting in photographs with little detail. I made an attempt to get closer to the individuals yet I noted in myself a fear of being discovered. Though I did make an effort to get as close as possible to the individuals I photographed, I did maintain the difference in floors - shooting down at my subjects.

When walking through the south court of this complex I was about to photograph a young woman and her friend on the other side. Both these women spotted me, they kept on walking for a split second then stopped and one turned to face me and posed as if she was modeling. At that point I lowered my camera. However, this shot would have been good to demonstrate the effect the camera may have on individual's behaviour.

In the same area I heard a voice which sounded as if it was a half scream. I then saw a woman in her late teens run toward a bench and a male who was older - early twenties - run after her. These two people were obviously having a quarrel about something. I photographed this interaction and my concentration was on these two individuals. During this interaction I speculated as to the

methodological notes.

reason they were arguing and the nature of their relationship. This speculation centred on the clothes they wore and their relative ages as being primary clues. Thus, I believe that this was a manager or supervisor of one of the stores delivering some bad news to a employee - possibly a termination. Nothing really suggests this other than the two clues I've already noted. In fact there could be a variety of explanations. I resolved to not consider these possibilities because I could not really know unless I talked to them. I did however, try and get closer to them. Since I was on the level above them and was observing this interaction from one of the many balconies, I had to go down an escalator. Once on the same floor and heading to that location I saw that while I was changing positions, these individuals had left the setting and I did not locate them.

Shortly after this situation I had exhausted my supply of film and decided to discontinue the session.

#### 8.4. Session Three,

The analysis of the previous two sessions helped narrow down my focus. I now entered the field concentrating on transit behaviour - dyads or groups, same-sex dyads or opposite sex dyads -, and on stationary behaviour which was further divided into benches and railings. Though I entered the field with those three categories in mind, I was still attempting to note other types of behaviour. As a result, I not only took photographs of



methodological notes.

individuals which fell into these categories, but also of the security guards and of individuals using the directory of this complex, as well as people who were stationary but are not in a situation where they were using a bench or a railing.

In an attempt to alleviate some of the technical problems I had with the lighting conditions I included a roll of a 1000 ASA film. I hoped that this would result in photographs which are not so dark as the previous ones. Secondly, I made an attempt to pay closer attention to the aperture and shutter settings. I found that I had to take a longer period of time and spend more time in one setting. Also many opportunities were missed while I took the time to set my camera. I hoped this increased technical effort will produce better results.

I also noted that I was feeling more comfortable as a researcher in this location, and to some extent had narrowed the distance between subject and researcher. This will be substantiated or refuted in the data.

#### 8.5. Session Four

I today realized that I had neglected one area of this location, the north mall of this complex. This area is separated from the main mall by one of the large department stores. I spent about forty-five minutes there and I think I got some good shots. It is a far easier setting to photograph since the light is less diffused. However, I did note a reaction in myself which is

important. It was as if this was my first session of research. I felt uncomfortable and wanted to get back to the main mall. I suspect that since I did not make the connection to include this area until I remembered it today, while I was in the location, and I had not done a preliminary observation of this area so did not really know where to observe from, or have a researcher's insight of the setting prior to today, then my hesitation and apprehensions were warranted. I was unprepared. I think that though I may use today's photographs I shall treat this area as outside the designated location. It is a different location altogether and this is made evident by the physical separation of the department store from it and the function this area has served.

This area is used as an entrance to one of the major subway stations of the city. Because of this many of the retail outlets here cater to the transitory behaviour of the users. This area has fast food stalls, and variety store type places. Leisurely shopping, and window shopping are not in evidence. People pass through, and though some may wait in the area for a friend to meet them, its character is different to that of the main mall area. To include this area to any great extent would be to skew the results and gain data applicable to the Transit category. Since patterns have already emerged from the previous data this area could be used as one to verify the data. But this shall be not be regarded as within the defined limitations of the study at

methodological notes.

hand. Hence, I do not think that further data collection sessions would include this area based on today's observations.

In today's session, I also took shots which would contribute to a path analysis around the central fountain. As part of this series of photographs, there was a group of people standing in a circular formation with their backs to the goings on around them. I took several shots of how they influenced the path of others. This may prove to be an interesting part of the analysis. I observed this from the balcony leading to the parking lot. My biggest fear was dropping my camera.

Also, based on the analysis of previous sections, I needed more data on improvised benches. I had alerted myself to this prior to the session and was on the look out for such a happening. However, I tried not to limit my observations to this so to exclude other types of behaviour which may contribute to the study.

I am not only looking for data which may contribute to the study but I was made aware that I am looking for data which can be photographed. I am unclear, at this point as to the subtle differences between them. One of these differences may be that a behaviour has to be sustained for a time to allow its recognition by the researcher, it then has to allow the photographer to take the shot. This would involve not only the setting of the aperture and shutter speed but also the best angle to get as much of the behaviour as possible. Though I'm not distorting the individuals

methodological notes.

or their behaviour with any trickery of camera angles, filter etc., I am attempting to get the best angle so as to produce the best record of the behaviour. I fear that this concentration on the setting up of the shot takes away from my paying as close attention as I should to the individuals and their behaviour.

#### 8.6. Session Five.

May be it just wasn't a good day. Or maybe I've exhausted the data collection in the categories. But I think most of the photographs today will merely verify existing data. I did not notice other types of behaviour or behaviour divergent from what has already been collected. Maybe the analysis and examination of the photographs will yield different results. It could be just the wrong time to come; late afternoon.

#### 8.7. Session Six.

A quick session today. I shot two rolls of thirty-six exposure film in less than forty-five minutes. It was a very bright day as well and this poses just as many problems in this locations as does a dark day. Since the location is predominantly white, I had to compensate for the glare and reflected light in shooting. I hope I did this adequately. If I used a grey board and a hand held light meter my problems would be solved but this would increase the time to set up a shot and that would increase the likelihood of missing the shot and not collecting the data.

methodological notes.

There would be an increase of time between the recognition and the recording of data, and this is not desired.

I spent most of this time collecting data within the three categories so far defined. I think much of what was collected today would add to the categories rather than merely verify them. Analysis may show this to be the case. Most of the data collected today should also show an even spread between the categories.

I feel very comfortable in the setting and in taking photographs now. I am concentrating on the quality of data collected both technically and sociologically and I think I've been doing that for the last few sessions. Data collected must be applicable to the defined categories and must be "photographable". That is, I must have enough time to set my aperture and shutter speeds (which I am doing at a more rapid pace after getting used to the location and its technical considerations), and after initially recording the data from the angle the behaviour was recognized, if the individuals maintained their setting, I would record the behaviour from other angles as well if they were thought to be better. "Better" would refer to recording the behaviour in more detail, i.e., facial expressions, body positions, proximity etc..

However, I have realized that I do ask myself the questions: "Would this be a better shot from another angle?" "Would it be worth moving to get this shot and in the process missing the collection of further data?" "What is the

methodological notes.

availability of the angles?" I've realized now, that I was asking these questions all along but I have never consciously verbalized them. They have been part of the process which I had not realized. Every situation recorded was done with these questions in mind and I must review the data to affirm this.

#### 8.8. Summary.

In this chapter a methodological diary of the researcher's activities in the field has been presented. Problems, solutions to those problems, possible influences which the researcher's actions may have had on the method, and decision made by the researcher related to the research method are noted above. Adhering to Schatzman and Strauss' notation model, this diary constitutes the observational notes on the method, within that model, as applied to this study. It is however, not sufficient to take this diary as being the only form of observational notes. In Chapter 6, both the observational and methodological notes for the behavioural component of this study were presented. In Chapter Nine, the methodological notes related to the methodological component of this study are presented. This latter set of notes draws upon both the methodological diary in this chapter and the methodological notes in Chapter 6. As was stated earlier, the behavioural component of this study, aids in the analysis of the method. Thus, both behavioural and methodological components combine to make up the methodological notes on the method.

## 9. Methodological Notes.

Though this chapter can be considered to be an extension of the previous chapter containing the methodological diary, it is distinct because of the added element of analysis. Each of the sections in Chapter Eight are examined as to method. However, the entire research is taken stage by stage, and the data collection which took place comprises only one of the four identified stages examined. In section one, the preliminary session is isolated and examined as to its methodological implications. Section two draws upon the sessions and thus, the methodological diary contributes to this section as does the ~~methodological notes done with~~ respect to the behavioural aspects of this paper. Section three documents the development of the schematic maps but also examines the role of such a tool in relation to this study. Section four examines the process and the application of Lofland's analysis to the data collected. Finally, section five contains a summary of this chapter and general methodological considerations which have emerged in conducting this research. One must realize that the observational notes pertaining to the methodology - the methodological diary - only make reference to the collection of the data. To document, examine and critically evaluate what was done, and how it was done, has been deemed to be the subject of this chapter. Therefore, the order in which the research was completed is maintained.

### 9.1. Preliminary Session.

Ideally, the preliminary session should familiarize the researcher with the location in both the areas of (i) behaviour and (ii) method. This familiarization would result in notes on (a) areas of high population and activity, the various types of behaviour which was manifest, and how design elements contributed to behaviour; also (b) different vantage points from which photographs can be taken, lighting conditions, various distances of the researcher from the subjects and possible aperture settings. Though some of these aspects were noted in the preliminary session conducted, all were not, and those that were noted were not given sufficient attention. No consideration was given to what should be noted in the preliminary session prior to its being conducted. If the researcher had determined before hand what he should be taking note of, then more focused and beneficial results would have been obtained.

Though it was decided not to use a shooting script, a more extensive preliminary session would give greater direction to the researcher as to where he would be able to take photographs which would fill both the behavioural and methodological - technical- requirements. In short, more attention to these factors at this stage of preparation would possibly have elicited more extensive results.



## 9.2. Data Collection Sessions.

Two data collection sessions were conducted for the pilot study, and these two sessions focused on a limited number of behaviours. Though this tactic gave direction to the study, it also curtailed the possibility of further areas of study which may have emerged in the future sessions. Thus a strict adherence to the "productive temporal relationship" was not maintained, and possibilities for gathering data on a wide variety of behaviours was consequently limited.

As was stated in the methodology, an analysis of the data was conducted after every photo/data collection session in the field. However, this analysis was limited to the observational and methodological notes. Though the written observational notes contain a detailed description of the photograph, the corresponding methodological notes are often cursory and are restricted to superficial technical comments. Furthermore, no extensive analysis was conducted with regard to the theoretical notes from session to session. Again, in limiting the theoretical component, one limits the results which could emerge from the photographs/data.

Theoretical notes were not given much attention until after the sixth and final session of collection. Again, the "productive temporal relationship" was not strictly adhered to. This omission did not effect the analysis of the photographs/data collected, but did effect and limit the emergence of other theoretical

possibilities. If the complete analysis of the photographs/data was completed after each session, other lines of inquiry may have emerged. Furthermore, during the final analysis, certain categories and their development could have been aided by a larger body of photographs/data. For instance, adult-child interaction in groups emerged as a further area of inquiry during the stages where the schematic maps and Lofland's analysis were applied. However, there were insufficient photographs/data to enable an analysis of any significance; more photographs/data would have been needed. Thus, termination of photograph/data collection could be said to have been premature. This would have been avoided if the researcher was faithful to the "productive temporal relationship". However, it cannot be said that the analysis, presented above, is invalid, but rather that the data has not been exhausted.

Lofland's model could have been applied after each session. However, Lofland's model as used above, is dependent upon the organization of the photographs/data by the schematic maps, and since the development of these maps did not come to mind until after the sixth session and the decision to terminate collection had been made, the application of Lofland's model after every session was decided against early on in this research. With the development of the schematic maps, organization of the photographs/data was done, and has facilitated the application of Lofland's model. This problem in organization could not have been

foreseen in the initial stages of this study.

### 9.3. Schematic Maps.

Initially, Schatzman and Strauss' notation model was thought to be a sufficient tool to organize the photographs/data. However, this was proved not to be the case. Some other form of organization was needed. Hence, the development of the schematic maps. This was a necessary step in the analysis and emerged from the use of Schatzman and Strauss' model. During the initial stages of analysis, the question asked was: What ties one photograph to another? By placing these photographs in groups this question was answered. But, the actual handling of the photographs/data was difficult and they needed to be placed side by side for comparison.

Photographs/data were placed side by side in the appropriate session in which they were taken. Session by session and category by category, linkages became apparent and what was up to that point implicit and somewhat hidden, emerged to become explicit. Questions concerning the reasons for such groupings were answered. It was no longer an intuitive feeling that photographs/data belong together. Linkages were then more visible and those which had emerged were better articulated. Also, new linkages emerged through this process. This was achieved by relating not only through the photographs, but the written observational notes as well. Thus, the schematic maps were an effective means by which the data could be organized and various

groupings of photographs/data were further related.

Furthermore, repetition of linkages made patterns in the photographs/data more apparent within the groupings and categories. But it was also realized that these patterns manifested themselves in other groupings and categories in a different manner. Emergent concepts which were applied to specific categories were seen to cross those categorical boundaries and have a broader application.

All of the photographs/data are not indicated on the schematic maps presented in Chapter 7.1. However, they are represented by similar photographs. One photograph may represent many which were used in the analysis. Diagrams presented are a representative sample of the entire body of photographs/data used.

#### 9.4. Lofland's Analysis.

Lofland's model of analysis proved to be cumbersome, and the photographs/data and the emergent concepts applied to many of the cells. Repetition is a by-product of the cumbersome nature of this model. However, Lofland's model also contributed to a detailed and in depth analysis of the photographs/data and the applications of the emergent concepts. Flexibility in the application of the categories of the novel generic analysis allows for the photographs/data to be analyzed extensively. Furthermore, this model demonstrates how the smallest unit of social organization - the individual, the "encounter" - relates

to larger units. In fact, it elicits a conception of the individual in society.

As stated above, flexibility in the categories of novel generic analysis was found to be of benefit. It was found through application that the categories of process and strategies did not readily apply to the method of data collection - photography. Process can only be seen over time, as is also the case with strategies. If a sequence of photographs had been taken, then these categories would be more applicable. Though the cells pertaining to the category of strategies were presented, it is obvious - after the fact - that what the contents of these cells describes is the structure of the unit, though process and strategies were taken into consideration. Thus, photographs/data could have been collected in such a way as to contribute to the analysis of these cells if sequential shooting (many shots of one situation, photographing over short periods of time of the same subjects) was employed.

#### 9.5. Summary.

Though the components of this methodology are good, the structure that the method took through application would have been improved if the following was undertaken: (1) Preliminary sessions were be conducted with more attention paid to the technical and behavioural components as described above; (11) Familiarization of the researcher with the location is the main purpose and intention of this stage and it should not be rushed

methodological notes.

through. Another session would have been advantageous and specific considerations should have been addressed in more detail and planning.

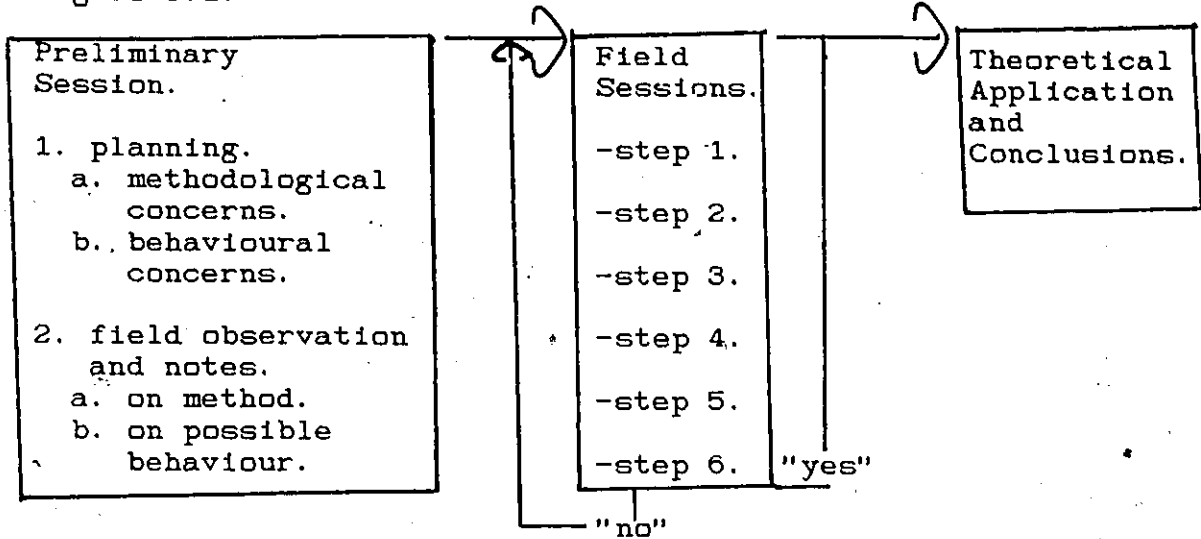
Application of the schematic maps and Lofland's analysis after each session would have been beneficial if the "productive temporal relationship" had been adhered to. Also, the method could have then been altered to collect photographs/data which would have made Lofland's analysis more applicable. For instance, sequential shooting so that photographs/data could be analyzed for the novel, generic categories of "process" and "strategies". This application would have been implemented if the development of the schematic maps was realized earlier in the research.

Thus, a preliminary session should initiate the research and familiarize the researcher with the location or population under study. Secondly, after each photograph/data collection session, the photographs/data should go through the following steps:

- 1) a written description and inventory of the photograph/data.
- 2) organization of the photograph/data using the schematic maps.
- 3) application of Lofland's analysis model.
- 4) examination of photographs/data with regard to the methodological notes.
- 5) alterations of method to accommodate photograph/data collection with regard to areas of theoretical concern and methodology.
- 6) asking: Is the data exhausted?

When the answer to step six is "yes", then existing theory can be applied and theoretical conclusions made. If the answer is "no", then the researcher goes back into the field. A flow chart of this process is suggested below.

figure 9.1:



It is suggested that these modifications in the method used would not only improve this methodology, but also improve the data photographically. Consequently it would better facilitate photographic research within the discipline of sociology.

## 10. Theoretical Notes.

This chapter considers the theoretical aspects of the methodology used with regard to visual sociology. A study done by Douglas Harper titled What do Photographs Mean? A Case Study in the Phenomenology of Work. (1986) is used to contrast the methodology used. General concerns regarding sociological research and the use of still photography are also addressed. Three questions asked by Deborah Barndt were cited in chapter 2.3 above of this paper. These question are reiterated in section two of this chapter and some answers are put forward. Comparison of Harper's study with that of the study presented is completed with regard to these three questions asked by Barndt.

### 10.1. A Comparison with a Contrasting Visual Methodology.

This study was conducted using observation and no attempt was made to solicit the subject's interpretation of the situation. It was hoped, in limiting the methodology in such a manner, that the extent to which still photography could be used in sociological research would be demonstrated. Contrasting this approach with one which does solicit the subject's views enables the development of a sociological method for visual sociology.

Douglas Harper took photographs of his subject and then used a technique called "photo-elicitation". Photo-elicitation is a method where-by the researcher takes photographs of the subject and then conducts an interview with the subject based on the photographs. Through this process, the subject can interpret,



theoretical notes.

define and give meaning to the action which is shown in the photograph. Furthermore, Harper's choice of a location is opposite in size and content to the location studied above.

Willie is Harper's subject and auto mechanic. Willie's shop was the location in which Harper took his photographs. However, being situated in a small town, Willie was (and presumably still is) Harper's friend. Willie's shop is also an informal meeting place for locals, one of whom appears to be Harper. Thus, the location is small and those who use it are "regulars". In contrast, the location used in the study presented is large, and the "regulars" are indiscernible from the rest of the population. Harper's location can then be said to be closed and intimate whereas the shopping complex can be said to be open and public. Harper's population is small, Willie being the prime subject, with only a small group of others who would be secondary. In the shopping complex, the population is large and, unlike Harper's subject, is mostly made up of strangers.

Harper too had fears about initiating his study. Whereas the fears experienced by this researcher were based on the size of the complex and population and on not knowing where to start, Harper's fears were based on his interpersonal relationship with the subject and the group of regulars.

...I was afraid that the photography would change my friendship with Willie in a way I could not anticipate. I wondered if the social fabric of the shop -- a number of people spent regular time there -- was fragile enough to be rent with the camera. (Harper, 1985:7)

Intimacy with the subject led to some reluctance on Harper's part to the gaining of access, as a researcher, to the location. However, it had its advantages as well.

Because of the size of the location and his familiarity with Willie, Harper was able to enhance the quality of his photographs by setting up extra lighting equipment.

...I finally began using a strobe, and a reflex camera coupled to a short telephoto macro lens to record details of the hand in the process of work, and a wide angle lenses with which I could photograph the whole man, environment, and the other regulars who frequented the shop. The photographs, lit with the strobe, showed detail I had envisioned from the beginning. As long as I took care not to flash the strobe in Willie's face while he was working then it did not pose a serious "problem" although it made my activity the centre of attention and required that I come up with some rational explanation of what I was doing for the others in the shop. For a while some of the men came around less often and I wondered if I had driven them away. Willie said they came and went as they pleased. The strobe did capture an unusual amount of the detail which made the photographs more interesting to Willie. After a few months the photography has become part of my identity in the shop... (Harper, 1985: 7)

Several differences are apparent in Harper's account above and the research presented here. 1) Harper's ability to use added lighting; 2) the capacity for the photographer/researcher to get close to the subject; and 3) the use of photography as part of the researcher's identity in the location.

Harper was able to use extra lighting because of the closed aspect of the location. Extra lighting in a shopping complex would not be practical because of the amount of walking the researcher had to do and the mobility he needed to maintain and because it would have attracted attention to his actions. When

Harper got close to his subject it could have been a distance of only a few inches. When this researcher got close to his subjects, it was a matter of a few yards. To go closer would also attract attention and violate the behaviour which was being studied - the privatization of space. To take a photograph at a closer range would have been in violation to the norms dictating public and social order, public decorum and civil inattention, to name a few. Finally, the researcher had no identity within the shopping complex distinct from any other. Since the population in this complex is transitory no relationship of even an ephemeral nature can be established.

One further aspect must be addressed. Harper used photo-elicitation in his study. He conducted an interview with Willie and the photographs provided the questions. Though this process could have been implemented in the study presented above, the subjects in an interview would not necessarily have been the subjects in the photograph. Social norms are based on a common or shared definition of the situation. Therefore, anyone who was used the location could then offer an explanation of the activity on the basis of a shared meaning. This would have added yet another dimension to this study. "Volume" is the operative word for the difference between Harper's study and the one presented above.

This comparison is presented to show, not only that other forms of visual sociological research are being conducted, but to

theoretical notes.

also demonstrate that visual sociology can be used in varying situations and, as with any research, there are methodological problems. Contrasting this study to Harper's also demonstrates that this methodology used was designed with the location in mind. A large location, with a large population, and with the capacity for a great deal of data and varying behaviours, must have a methodology which is tailored to the research. Tools used in this research would not be as applicable to Harper's situation as his would not be easily applicable to this location.

#### 10.2. Barndt's Questions.

Deborah Barndt asked three questions pertaining to the use and capacity of photography in sociology. Barndt asked: "What do pictures do well? What are their special qualities? and How do we use them?" (1974:7). Answers to these questions are put forward in relation to the study presented and to Harper's study outlined. These questions are answered in the reverse order from which Barndt asked them. In answering them in this order a development as to what the contribution of photography is to sociology becomes evident.

##### 10.2.a: "How do we use them [photographs]?"

As stated earlier, photography has been used for purposes of documentation (as in the documentary film). Photography is used to document a sociological concern and no theory or explanation accompanies them. What may accompany the photographic images are a verbal or a written text which ties the various photographs

together. Narration is similar but in this case "...photographs attempt to communicate sociological ideas through visual images rather than words." (Bertoia, 1986:27). Hence the emphasis is on the photograph, rather than words to **communicate** some information or idea.

Illustration is the most common method in which photographs are used in sociology. Words are accompanied by photographs to enhance the text or to connect ideas which may be difficult to communicate through the use of words (Harper, 1982:145). Thus, photographs and words are used as complementary forms of **communication** within the same text.

Documentation, narration and illustration are techniques of presentation. They can be used together in combination, or separately. Photography for the use of data collection is not primarily based on "product orientation" (Barndt, 1974) as are the three mentioned above. Photographs used as data are primarily collected with the emphasis on information contained in the image, rather than with the purpose of presentation. Harper uses photography in this way, as does the study presented here.

In this study presented, photographs record behaviours and the observations of the researcher; they were analyzed as to the information which could be gained from those observation; and allowed multiple analysis of a first hand account of the behaviours which had taken place. Harper used photographs for much the same purposes. Though Harper used the photographs within

an interview to elicit information from the subject once the photographic print was produced, his aim was to gain information about Willie's environment. Thus, how photographs were used in both studies, though varying in operationalization, had a common purpose: to seek information.

Thus, the two primary uses of photography are to communicate an idea and to seek information. It is rarely that these two can be separated. Though the photographs in the study presented, may not be "good photographs" photographically, they are "good photographs" sociologically because of the information they yielded. This emphasizes the "process orientation" of the study. Though the photographs were not taken with presentation in mind, they are presented as a body of data from which sociological ideas emerged. Consequently, the choice words was directed by the photographs, and the words make reference to the photographs: the photographs illustrate what has been written.

#### 10.2.b. "What are their [photograph's] special qualities?"

Photographs "...directly present the appearance of things as they are" (Campbell, 1983:11). In both the study presented and Harper's ethnography, photographs represented, first hand, the visible actions of the subjects. A written account would have only supplied a description, whereas the photograph, in fact, freezes the moment for further, future and frequent analysis. The situation is visibly preserved, enabling the data to be analyzed on different levels and by different individuals, producing

theoretical notes.

multiple perceptions and multiple meanings (Barndt, 1974: 6), through multiple viewing and multiple analysis (Zube, 1979: 73).

By viewing a visible representation of the action and the surroundings it takes place in, information which was not seen by the researcher/photographer when taking this visual field note is made evident through examination and analysis. As Paul Byers points out:

There is a vast world of visible but "unseen" information that can be accessible to photography and it is possible to develop a literacy of systematization by which photographs can be taken and used in behavioural observation and in the currency of communication among scholars. (1964: 78)

Thus photographs contains within their frames, information which is not noticed when taking the visible field note, but is detected upon analysis. How much information does the researcher miss when he or she observes and writes a description of the activity?

Throughout the analysis of the photographs/data in the study presented, information which was not noticed by the researcher/photographer during the field session was detected.

Willie, in Harper's study, through the photo-elicitation interview, pointed out information which was hidden in the photograph/data, which was missed by Harper when taking the photograph. Furthermore, Willie was able to provide Harper with the meaning of his actions and elaborate on the situation photographed. These "special qualities" of photography, preservation of the visible action in a situation, the ability to

theoretical notes.

repeatedly analyze the visible representation of a situation and the emergence of hidden information in the situation, are common to both the study presented and Harper's study.

10.2.c. "What do pictures do well?"

As visible field notes, photographs provide a good account of the action of subjects at the moment the photograph is taken. Wagner states that "...photographs can provide a wealth of visual detail and physical context [within] which to place a particular social phenomena" (1979: 191). Thus, not only is contextual information provided by the photograph, but also information as to the situation at large is also given. Collier also points this out.

The promise of photography is not only that it can gather valuable research tangibles, but that the detail of the visual evidence it provides can be preserve a constantly "present" context for subsequent analysis" (1979: 272).

As Collier states, this contextual information is not lost when the moment of photographing the situation is completed. This information is preserved for analysis at a later date: analysis, as stated above, which can be conducted by multiple viewings, with multiple perceptions and providing multiple meanings of that situation at large. Written fieldnotes are also able to capture this contextual element, but they do not have the visible representation of the situation which would prove to be beneficial.

In the study presented above, an inventory of "cultural artifacts" (Collier, 1979) was conducted during the written



theoretical notes.

observation notes. These inventories are basically a content analysis of the photograph and contribute to the overall information which the photographs/data provide.

Photographic details of its inhabitants would yield information about age and passage of life, as seen in the face, hands, and posture. A study of clothing might reveal profession, taste and economic well-being. The manner in which the clothing was worn might, along with posture, reveal psychological states and emotional welfare. These are all elements which can be responsibly identified through analysis of kinesics (body language), proxemics (significance of space), and cultural symbolism of artifacts" (Collier, 1979b: 273)

Whereas photographs give a general statement of context, as do written fieldnotes, they also provide the researcher with information which can be gained through later examination and analysis. Written description may give general information about the appearance of an individual; a photographic fieldnote not only provides the researcher with the same information, but also goes beyond the general into the particular. Photographs do not describe, they represent the actual appearance of the individual.

Written fieldnotes may give an overall contextual account, photographic fieldnotes provide detail. A sequence of photographs may then also provide a more complete contextual account of a situation, as well as the detail which may be lacking in written fieldnotes.

Harper utilized both photographic and written fieldnotes. He complemented the photographs with vignettes and written fieldnotes, as well as the information provided by Willie during

the photo-elicitation interview. In the study presented, the Methodological Diary documents the researcher's actions in the field rather than noting the situation he observed. Yet, the observational notes do contain contextual descriptions of the situation at large, supplied through the analysis of the photograph. Both studies sought and gained information on a detailed and general contextual basis. However, a written description of the situation or of individual subjects, was based on the detail which a photographic fieldnote supplies.

### 10.3. Summary of Contrasting Studies as Related to Barndt's Questions.

In both Harper's ethnography and the study presented, photographs were used primarily to seek information. Communication of that information has taken the standard academic form of the written word, though photographs are also presented above as an equally relevant mode of communication. Preservation of the visible action in a situation, frequent analysis of the visible representation of a situation and the emergence of hidden information in the situation, are the special qualities of photography which are common to both the study presented and Harper's ethnography. Finally, both studies emphasize photography as a visible fieldnote, and a means of data collection, and photography does this well. A comparison of these two studies, one which uses a small or micro social setting, the other a large or macro social setting, reveals that photography is a viable means of data collection within sociology. Photography is a good

theoretical notes.

method of field notation which allows the researcher access to the visible aspects of the situation, which has the ability to be analyzed in a multiplicity of ways, and is the process of seeking and gaining sociological information; it also has the added advantage of communicating that information in such a way as to bring that situation visually to the reader/viewer. Both studies used photography as a means of collecting data, but the location dictated how that collection was to be accomplished, and to some extent how the resultant data was to be analyzed. However, common elements are noted above, which help in the development of a general methodology for the use of photography in sociology.

#### 10.4. A Suggested General Methodology for the Use of Photography in Sociology.

Drawing upon the flow chart or model of research suggested in Chapter nine, and the above mentioned consideration of the application of photography to the collection of data, the following is proposed:

- 1) Preliminary sessions should take into account that which was stated in Chapter 9. Both behavioural and methodological aspects are equally important. However, when using photography, one should also develop a basic shooting script of sorts to determine a starting point and obtain initial photographs/data which survey the location. This suggestion can be implemented in both macro and micro sociological settings. Consideration as to where and what to shoot should be included.
- 2) When in the field, the considerations brought to light in

the preliminary session should be in the mind of the researcher/photographer. Deviation from a shooting script could lead to the collection of significant photographs/data, but, this should not preclude the researcher from resuming with the shooting script. Flexibility in such a script is essential, being open to variations in behaviour and setting.

Though it was demonstrated above that the photograph is a good means of field notation. Harper also demonstrates that written field notes complement the photographic notes. Thus, the researcher should also use such a method. Just as the tape recorder has become an item of standard equipment for research, so too does the camera record information which is not always visible when observing a situation. In combining these two field notation methods, the results can be powerful, and the data be revealing. Both complement the other.

Shooting a sequence of shots of one situation, further enhances the contextual aspects of photography, as has been noted above. A sequence of photographs can then show the movement of individuals and the progression of their acts. It provides a visible account of the behaviour, but also enables photography to expand its time frame.

3) Analysis of the data should follow that which was presented in chapter 9. Though such an analysis is not specific to photography, it is applicable to sociological research which uses any method of observation. Point four could be inserted between

theoretical notes.

steps two and three, or after data collection has been terminated, as the researcher determines.

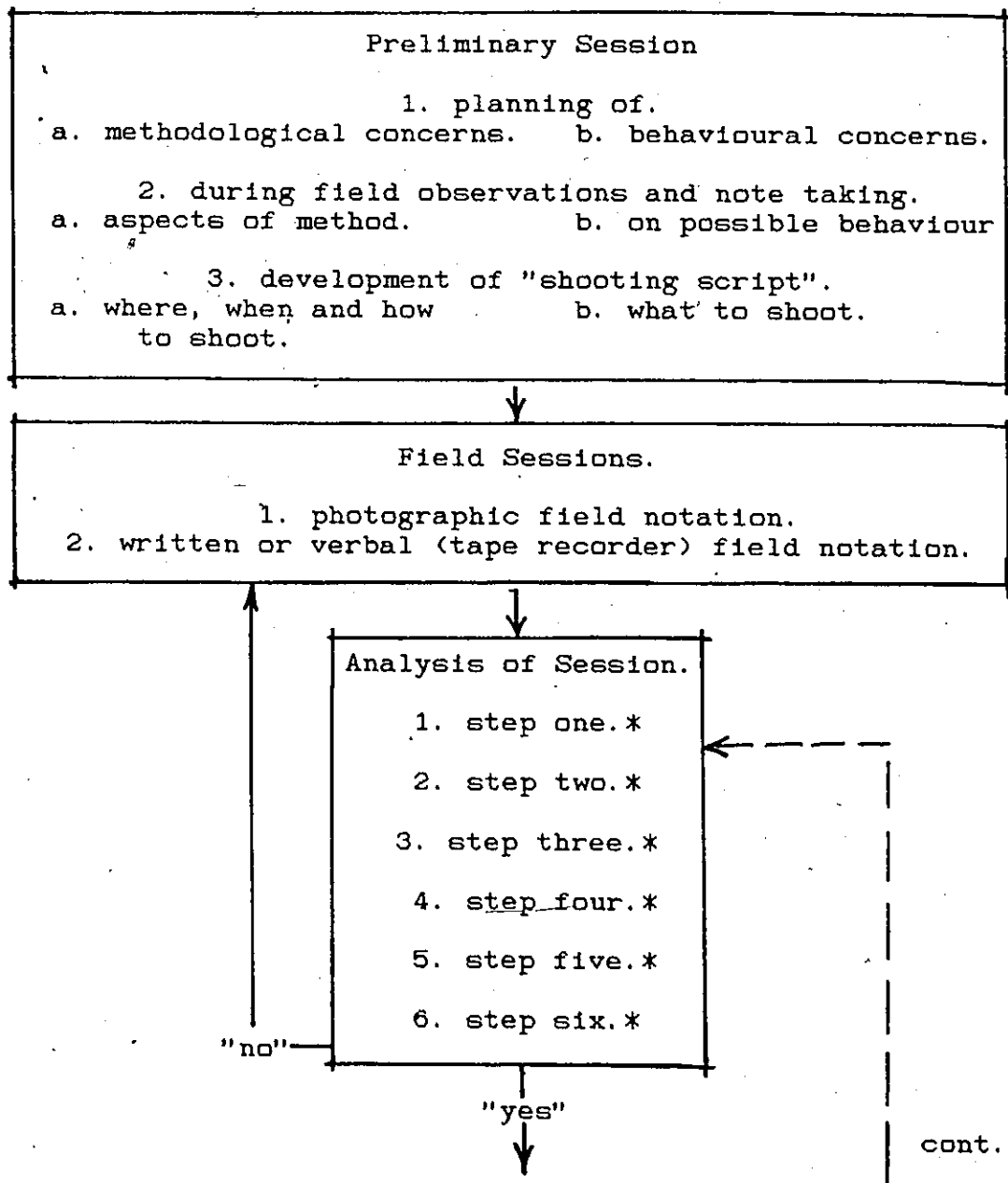
4) Photo-elicitation could be of great use to the researcher. Though in researching public behaviour, it may not be possible to interview the specific subjects, it is no real disadvantage, since public order is governed by shared norms, rules and conventions. The researcher's interpretation of the situation is not only based on sociological theory but also on these shared set of norms and rules. However, anyone who is familiar with the location, or even with public behaviour, is eligible to be a subject during the photo-elicitation interview. Analysis of the interview, would then be conducted in relation to steps three four and five outlined in Chapter 9. This interview process could also be implemented after the data collection sessions are completed and prior to the stage of "Theoretical Application and Conclusions".

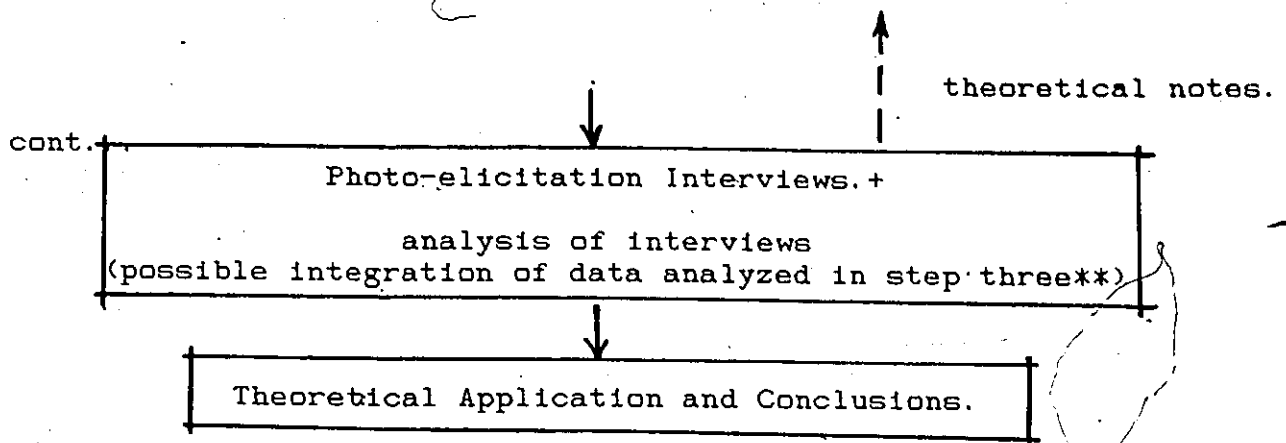
5) It is important that the emergent nature of the photograph/data be recognized and preserved. Since the photograph may contain in it information which was not visible when it was taken, the researcher must examine the photograph/data with sensitivity to this hidden information. Photography is then suited to a process which stresses the emergence of theory through the data. In this way, the ascription of theory, and the stating of theory as a consequence of the data rather than the production of data in accordance with a particular theoretical

perspective is maintained.

Thus, the flow chart or model presented in Chapter 9 [figure 9.1], is altered to accommodate photography in the following manner:

figure 10.1.





\* see Chapter 9, page 231.

\*\* Analysis of the photo-elicitation interviews is not conducted or examined in this paper and is the subject of further and future inquiry. However, any analysis should parallel that which is described above, and here, step three of this model seems applicable. Information gained through the photo-elicitation interview should be then integrated with the on going analysis conducted at this stage.

+ If integrated into the analysis of the data after each session this step should be conducted between steps two and three.

It is not so much that the presentation made above constitutes an ideal method for which to use photography as a means of data collection in sociological research; rather, this proposed method incorporates photography in such a way as to elicit information about a specific location or a particular population, it makes use of the "special qualities" of photography mentioned above, and it is a good method of field notation. Furthermore, it enables theoretical concepts to emerge from the photographs/data collected, and thus, behaviour may be explained using a multi-theoretical approach.

Though this section is titled "Theoretical Notes", a theory of visual sociology is not the aim of this study. Rather, the title is a reference to Schatzman and Strauss' notation model. As such, the Methodological Diary and the Methodological Notes,

theoretical notes.

contained in the two previous chapters have contributed to the model presented in this chapter. Thus, this chapter conforms to the model used. Conclusions on the methodology and the behavioural component of this study are reserved for the following and last chapter.



summary and conclusions of study.

#### PART IV.

##### 11. SUMMARY OF THE STUDY PRESENTED AND THE RESULTANT CONCLUSIONS.

This chapter contains a summary of the preceding chapters. Acknowledging that the secondary emphasis of the above presented study was the investigation of the privatization of a public space, and that the primary focus ~~of~~ this study has been the exploration of a visual method to be applied in sociological research, specifically the use of still photography. It is comprised of two sections are presented: (i) conclusions on the behavioural component of this study and (ii) conclusions on the methodological component of this study.

###### 11.1. A Summary of the Preceding Chapters.

Documentation of historical events has been recorded pictorially ever since humans lived in caves. Though this documentation has traditionally been the domain of the fine artist in past centuries, photographers have become the pictorial "documentarians" (Harper, 1985: 2) of this century. Every daily newspaper has photographs of some social occurrence. Through these photographs readers are brought right into the situation, they can see what was taking place. Even if only one photograph is used in presentation, it is enough to convey the message, and in some instances, influence the actions of the viewer. Hence, the content of photographs reveals an aspect of social life which, if applied, would enhance sociological research.

This study has attempted to formalize the medium of

summary and conclusions of study.

photography within the scope of a sociological research method. Three components have been addressed, two are methodological based, the other behavioral. These components were: 1) the use of visual data and the means by which it was collected for sociological research; 2) the employment of a grounded theory approach in accommodating this visual methodology; and 3) the non-verbal behaviour of individuals, and the means by which they privatize a public space. This study examined and applied a methodology using still photography as a tool for data collection. Therefore the nature of this study has been **exploratory**, focusing on the methodology rather than on the behaviour of individuals. Hence the purpose was to:

- o Develop a methodology for the use of still photography in the examination and collection of data on social behaviour. [a method for visual sociology.]
  - o Application of the developed visual methodology to a specified social setting. [A large urban shopping mall was chosen as the setting for reasons which will be elaborated on later].
  - [application of methodology.]
  - o Examination of the applied methodology and the results it yielded, with regard to the areas of its application, and to suggest modifications for future application. [analysis of the method.]
  - o Examination of the data on the behaviour of individuals in this public place and consequent theory. [analysis of data on public behaviour, the location and its various settings; of non-verbal interaction and its relationship to the privatization of public places.]
- (from page 3 of this study).

Therefore the behavioural aspect of this study has been the vehicle of exploration for a visual methodology. With respect to the behaviour studied, concern was directed to (1) the behaviour of individuals which takes place in the pedestrian mall of a

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large urban shopping complex; and (ii) behaviour which can be viewed in terms of the concept of privatization of a public place.

Chapter two contained a review of the literature in three areas: (i) qualitative methods; (ii) theory on public behaviour; and (iii) visual sociology. These three areas contributed to the development of the methodology. Glaser and Strauss' grounded theory approach (1967) was adopted as a guideline for the study. Through this approach the emergence of concepts are related to the specific behaviour, location or situation were suggested by the data. If photography was going to be used in sociological research, then the data it provides must contain theoretical concepts. If these concepts emerged from the photographs/data, then this may provide an indicator as to the relevance of photography as a means of data collection for sociologists.

Schatzman and Strauss (1973) provided a notation model which organized the photographs/data so that "key linkages" could be drawn and so that theory may be generated. This model dictated the organization of the previous chapters. Observational, Methodological and Theoretical notes were made with respect to both the aspects of behaviour and methodology. John Lofland's model of analysis for social organizations (1976) was decided on as a means of analysis of the photographs/data, which would be conducted in the section of the theoretical notes.

Irving Goffman, Edward Hall and Lyn Lofland, among others

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shaped the contents of section two of the second chapter. Theories on public behaviour and specifically Lyn Lofland's concept of privatization, though they did not directly influence the gathering of photographs/data prescribed by the developed methodology, were applied throughout the analysis. Goffman's concepts of "civil inattention", "public order", "social order", "involvement" and "involvement shields", as well as "public decorum" were used in the analysis of the photographs/data. Hall's typology of spaces and distances also contributed to the analysis of the photographs/data with respect to the behavioural aspects of this study.

Section three of chapter two examined the literature on visual sociology. Howard Becker, Jon Collier, Timothy Curry and Jon Wagner, among others, were cited, and shaped the contents of this section. This section primarily considered the content of the photograph: what it could contain and how to read it.

Chapter three detailed the methodology used in this study. This chapter was divided into two primary parts: the emergent nature of the study as dictated by a grounded theory approach, and the details of data collection and analysis. This second section did not only detail the method but also described how John Lofland's model of analysis was modified.

Chapter five addressed some questions related to the methodology. There were five of these questions: 1) was concerned with the application of a grounded theory approach; 2) examined

summary and conclusions of study. the possibilities for processes of note taking; 3) addressed the question of how the research could be aware of the meaning in the photograph; 4) further examined the role of still photography as related to the data collection and analysis; and 5) was concerned with ethical implication of such a study. Intended here, was a clarification of why the researcher made certain choices in developing the methodology.

Part two of the study presented was devoted to the behavioural aspect of the research. Prior to presenting the data and the consequent analysis, certain terms were defined in chapter five. These terms were related to the emergent concepts and all of the concepts outlined in this chapter were also related to the privatization of a public space. (Further explanation was given in chapter seven.)

Chapter six presented the photographs/data and the analysis which took place after each session. Field sessions one and two made up the pilot study. Six field sessions were conducted, plus one preliminary session to familiarize the researcher with the location. In chapter seven these sessions undergo further analysis, and a further explanation of the terminology is provided. This additional analysis takes the form of schematic maps and the application of John Lofland's model of analysis for social organization.

Through the application of Lofland's analysis, existing theory was applied. Albert Schefflen, Irving Goffman, Edward Hall,

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and Norman Ashcraft contribute to the development of a model of privatization which integrated emergent concepts with concepts from the work of those mentioned. Hence, the privatization of a public space was defined in relation to the behaviour of those individuals or subjects involved in the situation. Conclusions made in this area are discussed in a later section.

Part three contains an examination of the methodology. Chapter eight is a methodological diary which documents the researcher's actions in the field. This diary and the various methodological notes made after each field session were considered to be the observational notes related to the methodology.

Chapter nine presented an examination of the research method and possible improvements. It was noted here that the "Productive Temporal Relationship" (Lofland, 1976) was not adhered to as strictly as it might have been. Various suggestions are made with respect to the methodology which was used. Chapter ten then applied theory in the area of visual sociology to the methodology used and indicated possible alterations to this method. It is not so much a theory for visual sociology, but rather, a general theory for a method of visual sociology.

In the above section, the study presented has been summarized. In the sections to follow, conclusions as to the two aspects of the presented study, that of behaviour and method, are made. Conclusions related to the behavioural aspect of this

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study concentrate on the effective privatization of a public space (component three mentioned above). Conclusions related to the methodological aspect of this study concentrate on the use of visual data in sociological research (component one as mentioned above), and on the employment of a grounded theory approach in its ability to accommodate such a methodology (component two mentioned above).

#### 11.2. Summary of Conclusions on Behavioural Aspect. (component three: privatization of public space.)

In this section component three is examined: how individuals privatize space through non-verbal behaviour as revealed in the above. For the purposes of this study, privatization was considered to be non-verbal behaviour which insulates an individual, or group of individuals from others external to the immediate situation and the environment around them. As stated in Chapter two: Privatization of a public place is considered to be non-verbal behaviour which an individual "gives" or "gives off" through his/her "body idiom" (Goffman, 1978) to support his/her intimate or personal space (Hall, 1969). However, privatization is not determined by space per se. Relationships between an individual and other individuals or physical structural elements define territory which is respected by others (Ashcraft and Schefflen, 1976).

Space is defined by the actions and behaviour of an individual and/or the relationships between individuals of a group, and/or with a physical structural element, but

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privatization of that space only occurs when those on the periphery of the immediate situation, those who pass by, those who are in the "situation at large" (Goffman, 1963), recognize and respect the territorial claims of that individual or group. Schefflen's "Paradigm of a Total Unit" (1976:172) was adapted to accommodate the emergent concepts, and also concepts from the work of Goffman and Hall. This adapted paradigm, as applied in Chapter 7.2, is a vehicle to illustrate the various relationships contributing to the privatization of a public space. Therefore, two relationships are identified: First, the relationship which defines the space; and secondly, the relationship which recognizes and respects the space as being private.

Symbolic Interactionism was used to further advance this idea. W.I. Thomas' concept of the "definition of the situation" (1978) contributes to the development of the definition of privatization so as to place the relationships discussed above in a wide social context. These "definitions of the situation" are based on shared or common meanings of symbols acknowledged by those who participate in society. Goffman's ideas of "social order", "public order" and "public decorum" are based on Thomas' concept and were used throughout the analysis of the behaviour in the presented study. Thus: **When privatization is recognized and respected, then those who respect such claims have also "defined the situation" as being private and do not violate this privacy but act in accordance with the maintenance of "social order",**



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"public order" and "public decorum".

11.3. Summary of Conclusions on Methodological Aspects.

(component two: grounded theory related to visual sociology.  
component one: use of visual data in sociological research)

In this section, two components are examined. First (component two), whether or not the employment of grounded theory sufficiently accommodated this methodology which uses still photography as a means of collecting data. Secondly (component one), whether or not the use of visual data, specifically still photographs, and the means by which they are collected, was done so within the rubric of sociological research. These two components, as well as the third, which was examined in the preceding section, were first stated in Chapter one.

A grounded theory approach allows the researcher to first collect data and then through the analysis attach theory to the concepts which emerge. Research is not conducted in a theoretical vacuum, it is merely that theory does not guide or influence what data is collected. Methodology does not necessarily have to reflect a theoretical perspective related to the social behaviour of individuals. Rather, methodology **must** enable the researcher to collect data related to the phenomena under investigation regardless of any theoretical perspective. A grounded theory approach is based on this vision of a research method where generation of new theory is the focus, rather than merely the verification, of existing theory. Thus, the emphasis of a grounded theory approach is on the **emergent** nature of data.

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Photography is well suited for a process of research which places emphasis on the emergence of theory and theoretical concepts through the data collected. A photograph may contain information which was not obvious to the researcher at the time of data collection. During the analysis of the photograph the researcher must be sensitive to the possibility of this hidden information emerging. Thus, a grounded theory approach accommodates the emergent aspects of a visual research method, specifically that of still photography.

Though photography can be used in conducting quantitative research, the data would not be used to its full potential. Qualitative research gives actual accounts of social phenomena where abstractions are minimized and "being there is a powerful technique for gaining insight into the nature of human affairs" (Babbie, 1979: 203). Since photography does give an actual account of the social phenomena, abstraction is minimized since there is no transformation from the visual to the verbal or written word, and, photography not only enables the researcher to be there, but also to be there repeatedly. Photography, then is suited for qualitative research methods.

Sociological research using still photography is both "process oriented" and "product oriented" (Barndt, 1974), in that the process of obtaining data and the product obtained is important in gaining information, analyzing that information and communicating that information to the reader/viewer. Written or

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tape-recorded field notes not only complement the photographic image, but can also be a powerful means of research. Photography then, is a viable method of field notation allowing the researcher access to the visible qualities of the situation so that the phenomena are capable of being analyzed in a multiplicity of ways, and it is the process by which sociological information can be obtained with the added advantage of communicating those visual qualities to the reader/viewer.

#### 11.4. Summary.

In the above sections a summary of the study presented has been given. Highlighted in sections 11.2 and 11.3 were the major conclusion of both the behavioural and methodological aspects of the study. Suggestions as how to improve the methodology used has been given in Chapter ten. Though several sociologists have used photography as a means of sociological research, no real methodological guidelines had been determined nor has there been any research conducted as to the benefits of such a technology for the discipline of sociology. This study attempted to determine some methodological guides for at least one means of application for photography. If research on this method was not conducted, then the use of photography in sociology would remain an unknown, without any realization of its limitations or its benefits.

As a sociologist, one must explore a variety of possibilities of research methods in an effort to obtain data

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which better reflect actual social phenomena. If new methods are not explored, complacency in old ways leads to a stagnation within the discipline. If a sociological research method based on the use of still photography can increase the accuracy of the data we obtain and thereby improve the conclusions we come to and the theories we develop, then such methods of data collection should be adapted for their application within sociology.

Photography has enabled us to share in the various social events of war and peace, of tragedy and humour. We have been provided with not only a global documentation of history but the capacity to maintain a very personal history as well. However, this is not reflected within the discipline of sociology. It is remarkable that such a discipline does not utilize something which has such an important and ubiquitous role in society today. As Jon Wagner has said:

"The potential contribution of photography is thus not something which is totally unrealized in the culture, but rather something which is not fully realized in the disciplines themselves" (1979: 289).

Photographic images surround us in everyday life: advertisements on billboards, buses, subways, and in magazines. Photography is used in the natural sciences for research and in practical applications (Turner, 1987). Yet, sociology as a discipline, has refused and neglected to embrace such technologies, or even to explore the possibilities it opens up. A medium with such an influence within society cannot be left unexplored in a discipline which claims to study that society.

# APPENDIX I:

## CHART OF THE NUMBER OF EXPOSURES USED PER SESSION AND IN TOTAL.

Session #. Film #s. # of exposures. # Discarded. # Used . Total.  
per session. per session. per sess.

1(P)	1 & 2	44	27	17	17
2(P)	3 - 5	70	32	38	55
3*	6 & 7	46	8	38	93
4+	8 & 9	47	9	38	131
5	10 - 12	70	45	25	156
6	13 & 14	73	8	65	221
Totals	14	350	129	221	---
%	-----	100	36.9	63.1	---

(P) = Pilot study, film numbers 1 and 2 were 100 ASA black and white.

\* = film number 6 was black and white, 400 ASA, #7 was colour, 400 ASA.

+ = Film numbers 10 and 11 were colour, 1000 ASA, film number 12 was colour 400 ASA, but the ASA setting was not changed on the camera accounting for the high discard rate.

appendix ii.

APPENDIX II:

APPLICATION OF THE MODIFIED MODEL OF SCHEFLEN'S

"PARADIGM OF A TOTAL UNIT"

AS APPLIED TO THE PHOTOGRAPHIC DATA.

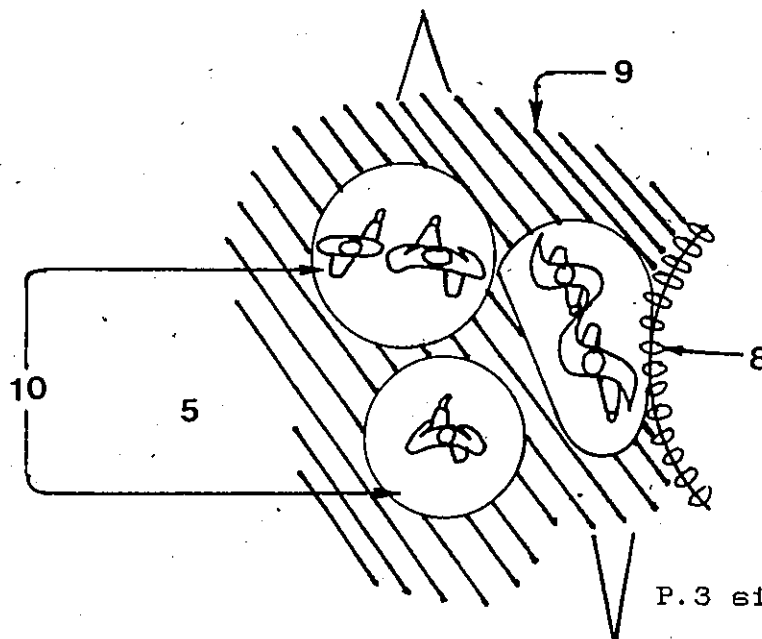
LEGEND.

1. zone of orientation ["o" zone] >
2. fixed focus of attention > focused interaction
3. diffused focus of attention > unfocused interaction
4. civil inattention.
5. zone of participants ["p" zone]
6. circular formation [or its tendency]
7. wall
8. prop.
9. region [a distance of one location\*]
10. region of passers-by.

TRANSIT.

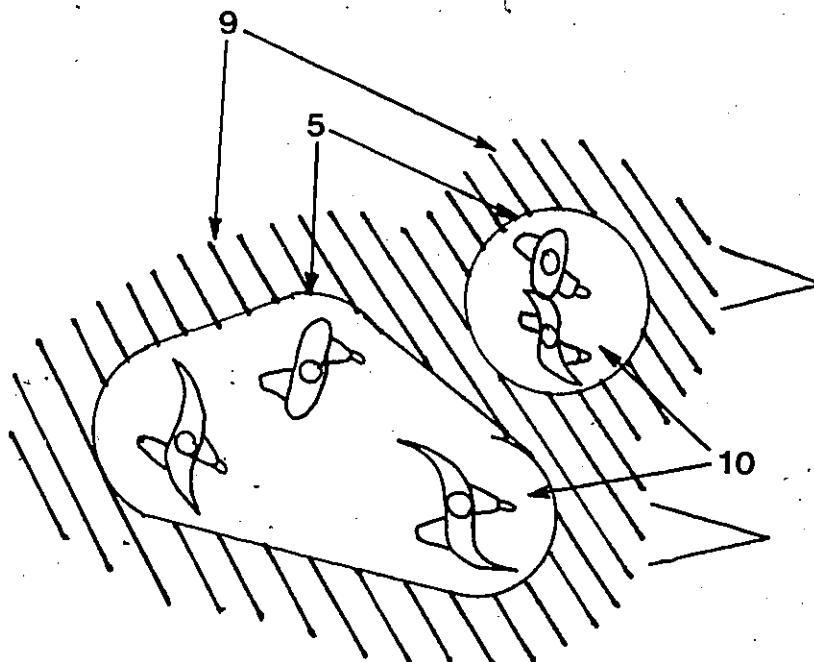
Photograph #.

4.  
6.  
37.  
38.  
52.  
53.  
68.  
78.



P.3 single and dyad.

5.  
69.  
79.  
80.



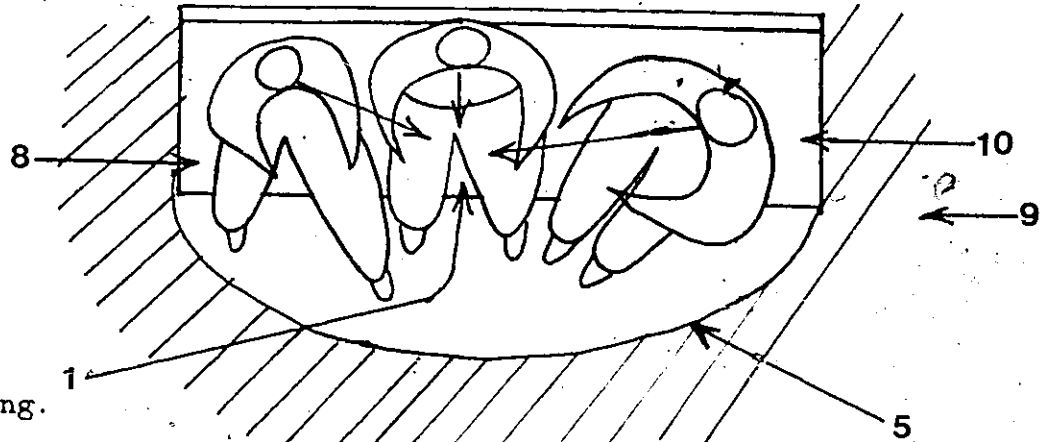
P.39 dyad and group.



INDIVIDUALS IN GROUPS.

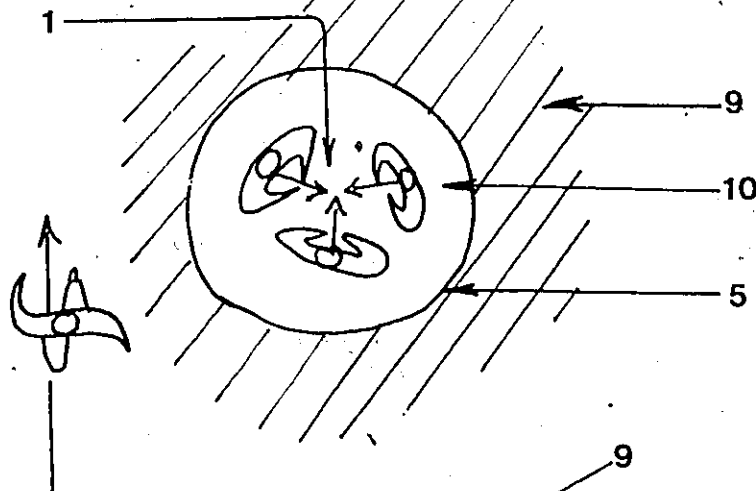
Benches

17.  
18.  
19.  
41.  
58.



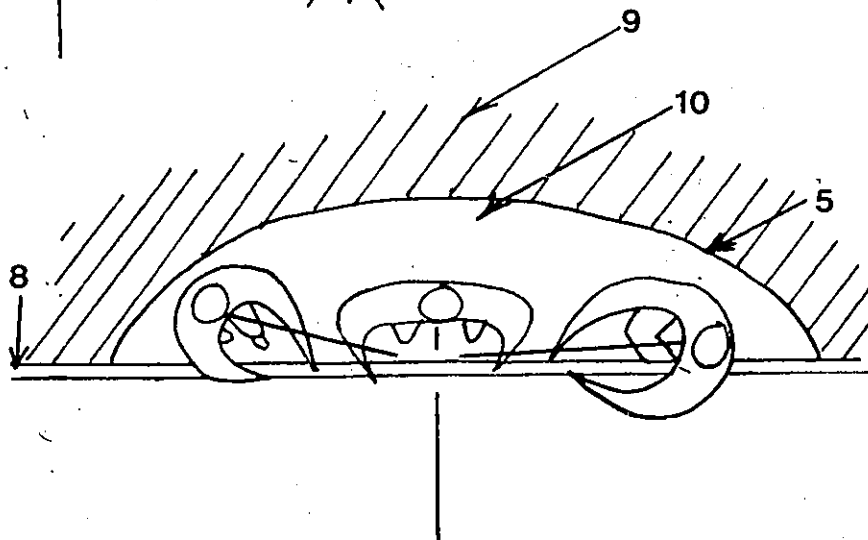
Stopping.

11.  
12.  
13.  
14.  
15.  
55.  
71.  
82.  
83.  
84.  
85.



Railings.

47.  
51.  
66.  
98.



DYADS.

Benches.

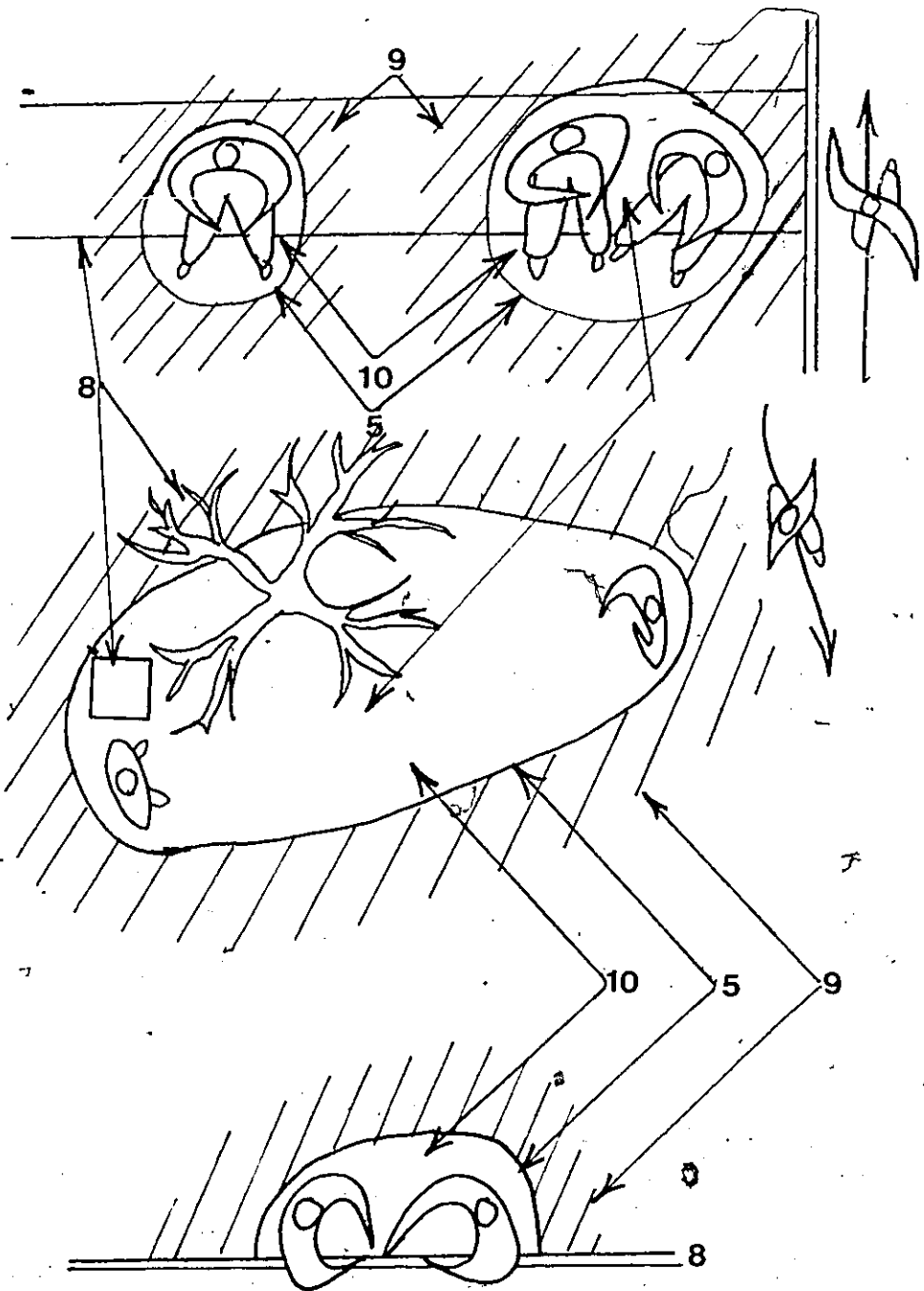
- 20. 86.
- 21. 87.
- 22. 91.
- 23. 92.
- 25. 93.
- 27.
- 28.
- 33.
- 34.
- 49.
- 61.
- 62.
- 65.

Stopping.

- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 54.
- 59.
- 70.
- 81.

Railings.

- 31.
- 32.
- 35.
- 36.
- 50.
- 74.
- 94.
- 96.



SINGLE INDIVIDUALS.

Benches.

20.

23.

24.

25.

40.

43.

54.

56.

59.

60.

73.

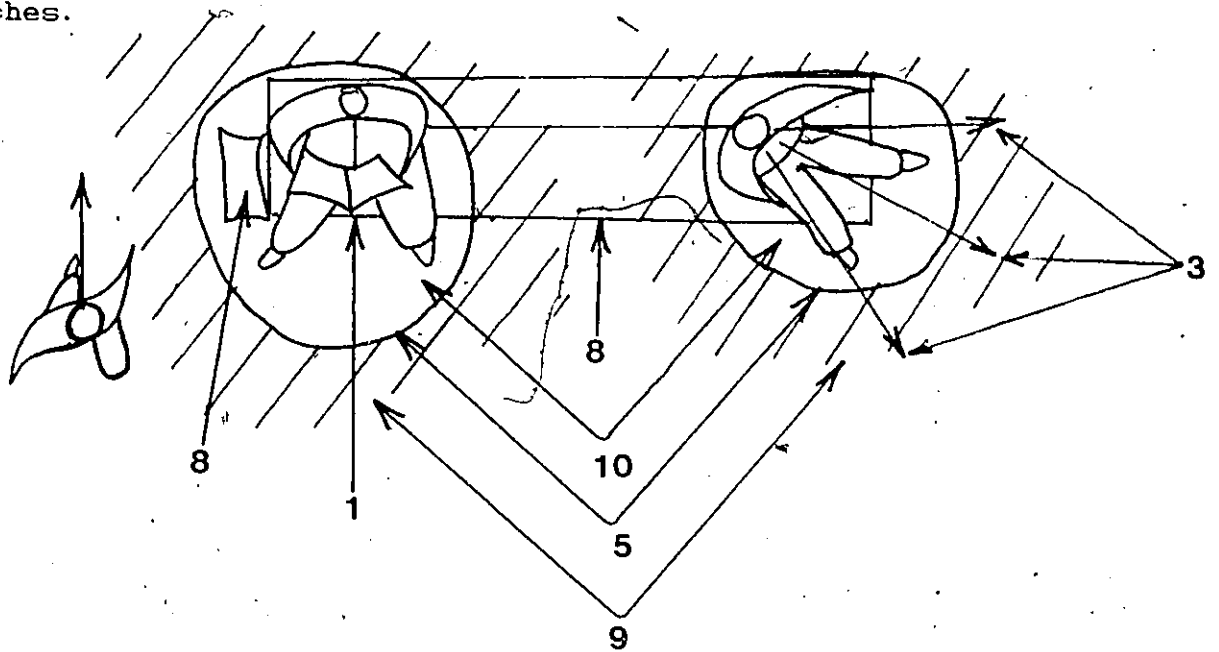
88.

89.

90.

95.

97.



Railing.

29.

30.

48.

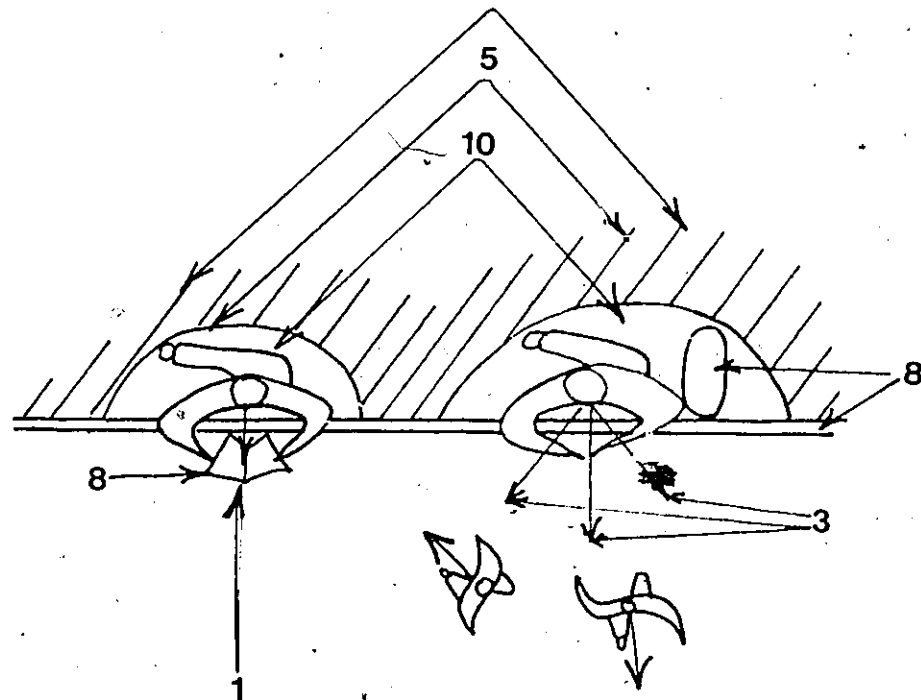
49.

63.

64.

75.

76.



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## VITA AUCTORIS.

Russell Brohier received his B.A. from the University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, in 1985. Going on to receive a Masters of Social Work from the University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, in 1986, while still working on his M.A. thesis. Mr. Brohier is currently enrolled in the Ph.D. program at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario where he is planning to conduct research contributing to his dissertation in the area of formal and informal organizations in financial institutions.

Mr. Brohier has worked in the trust field, as well as working in the area of corrections, youth counselling, and native affairs. His current academic areas of study are those of visual sociology, the individual in society, and organization.

## PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS.

Preparation and presentation of "Applications of Visual Sociology in the study of Social Interaction: Selected Graduate Projects in Still Photography", the Department of Sociology, University of Windsor. Presented at:

The Learned Societies Conference.  
Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association.  
at: The University of Guelph.  
Guelph, Ontario.  
June 7, 1984.

University of Windsor.  
Departmental Presentation.  
Department of Sociology.  
Windsor, Ontario.  
July 2, 1984.

The Second International Visual Sociology Association Conference.  
Visual Studies Workshop  
Rochester, New York.  
United States of America.

July 9, 1984.

Production of a training video for the Ontario Board of Parole on developing skills needed to adequately record the parole hearing process. Presented at the annual conference of the Ontario Board of Parole, June 1985.

Joint presentation of "Visual Sociology in the Field: Attractions and Limitations", with Carl Bertola. Interactionist Research Conference, May 18, 1988, Windsor, Ontario.

#### CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS.

- Interactionist Research Conference, Windsor, Ontario, May 16-18, 1988.
- Metropolitan Toronto Social Planning Council. Annual Meeting. Toronto, June 24 1986.
- Qualitative Research Conference. Waterloo. May 1986.
- Clinical Application of Structural Family Therapy. Jorge Golapinto, Lic., Vince Caccamo, Ed.D., Jose Dinis-Urbano, M.S.W.. Sponsored by, Sacred Heart Child and Family Centre. Toronto, January 30 and 31, 1986.
- John Howard Society Conference on Prison Reform. Toronto, February, 1985.
- Ontario Board of Parole Annual Conference. Kitchener. June 1985.
- Qualitative Research Conference. Waterloo. May 17, 18, 19, 1985.
- Ontario Sociological Association. Toronto, November 1984.
- Second International Visual Sociology Association Conference. Rochester, July 8, 9, 10, 1984.
- Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association Conference. Guelph, June 6, 7, 8, 1984.